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The Shape of Things

DEMOCRATIC PARTY TACTICIANS PROBABLY need no urging from us to study the political fever charts periodically issued by the Gallup Poll, the *Fortune* Survey, and other scientific seers. There is always the chance, however, that, carried away by enthusiasm over current trends, they will blind themselves to the underlying realities. The latest Roper survey shows that President Truman is now running even with Dewey and ahead of four other leading Republican candidates, any one of whom stood to beat him only five months ago. Gallup readings indicate that the percentage of voters who expect a Republican victory in 1948 has fallen from 79 per cent as of last December to 46 per cent today. It should not be assumed, however, that the remaining 54 per cent are ready to award the palm to Truman. His stock on this index has risen from a low of 9 per cent to an encouraging but inconclusive level of 30. The key lies in the remaining 24 per cent of voters, those who venture no opinion. The number in this category has doubled, indicating not only that more people are uncertain than was the case in December but that the Democratic chances of success lie precisely in this doubtful sector of the population. Presumably, they have been driven from a certainty of Republican success to their present position on the fence by the dismal record of the G. O. P. in Congress and by Truman's vetoes of the tax and labor bills. In other words, the Administration has been moving in the right direction, but it hasn't moved far enough. It should be perfectly clear to the President by now that the hope of the party lies in the Hannegan strategy of hewing to the New Deal line. That way lie the independent votes. The others are as good as cast already.

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INEVITABLY, THE LIMITED, CAUTIOUSLY administered "direction" of British labor into essential industries is being compared to Soviet regimentation, denounced as the inherent consequence of socialism, and mourned as the beginning of the end of British freedom. It is true, of course, that Englishmen in peace time do not relish being told where to work on pain of fine or imprisonment, but it is equally true that delegates to the annual Trades Union Congress last week voted six to one to support precisely that policy. There was some irate debate over failure to apply the law to "spivs," or slackers, but there was no self-deception as to the dire crisis through which the country is passing, a crisis as great as any in time of war. Two overriding desires appear to have conquered the natural repugnance of British labor to the program of "direction," mild as it is and hedged about with safeguards: first, the survival of the nation as a power independent of both Russian and American domination; and, second, the success of the Labor Party. Foreign Minister Bevin drew his loudest cheers when he said to the delegates: "I am here this morning to appeal to you to fight for our independence, in the workshops, in the mines, in the fields. . . . Who can accuse me of wanting to be subservient to the East or the West? I want Britain to stand self-reliant and to come back, and I can only do that if you come forward." The response was an eloquent demonstration of the government's hold on the nation. Let those who venture comparisons with the surrender of individual liberty in certain other countries recall that in England there is no secret police to force enthusiasm, no one-party press to stimulate it, no limitation on the power of the voters to sweep men out of office and scrap their whole program.

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ERNEST BEVIN MUST HAVE SPOKEN WITHOUT benefit of expert advice when he told the Trades Union Congress that redistribution of the Fort Knox gold would help to eliminate world economic chaos. Certainly, he failed to make his reasoning clear. Had he referred to the American hoard of bullion as a symbol of economic futility, we would be the first to applaud. When all the world is suffering from shortages of useful goods, it is clearly insane to employ hundreds of thousands of men to dig this "hard food for Midas" from the earth so that it may be reburied in another place. But the Fort Knox pile is a symptom rather than a cause of economic disaster. It has been accumulated, partly as the result of our persistent reluctance to buy abroad as much as we sell, partly because this country has long seemed, to possessors of liquid funds, the safest haven in an insecure world. Redistribution of the gold would not of itself change these conditions unless it was accomplished by using the metal to finance an excess of

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imports. And, apart from tariff barriers, that is hardly possible at this time, since few countries have surpluses to sell us. If gifts and loans to foreign countries were the methods of redistribution, the gold would speedily return here, for it is not gold that Europe and Asia need but American wheat, coal, steel, and machinery. Redistribution of gold would, of course, temporarily provide our foreign customers with purchasing power for the procurement of such goods, but no more than would the loan of an equivalent amount of paper dollars. Presumably, that is what Mr. Bevin really desires. It is a great pity he did not say so plainly instead of dragging a gold fish across an already confused trail.

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THE CURIOUS CONTINUITY OF REPRESSION and reaction that sets Britain's foreign policy in uncomfortable opposition to its domestic shift toward socialism —discussed by Margaret Marshall in her article on page 246—has nowhere been more strikingly dramatized than in the odyssey of the Exodus. To ship 4300 escaped Jewish survivors of Nazism back to Germany is an act which will cancel out politically, in millions of minds, the arduous and creditable struggle of the Bevin government to solve its economic difficulties. That the whole ugly performance was unnecessary, even in the context of British police rule in Palestine, was perfectly clear even before the High Commissioner fruitlessly protested against it during his recent visit to London. That it was also stupid is obvious, unless Mr. Bevin is trying to provide arguments in support of the proposals to be submitted to the U. N. Assembly by its special Palestine commission. Nothing could serve better to fortify the commission's unanimous recommendation that the mandate be ended forthwith than the spectacle of thousands of Jews forced by British clubs into German concentration camps. Against this bit of symbolic injustice, no Cadogan logic will prevail. As our issue goes to press, the refugees are still on board the three British prison ships in Hamburg harbor. Only the unlikely chance that they may decide to move docilely into the waiting camps can save the Labor government from the penalty of its folly. That, or an even less likely decision by the government to retrieve its reputation by allowing the Exodus passengers to enter Palestine as the first contingent of the 150,000 whose admission within two years was also recommended by the commission.

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WE PREDICT EARLY DISILLUSIONMENT WITH the new government in Greece in spite of the good intentions and honesty of Themistocles Sophoulis, its venerable head. We even predict that Sophoulis himself will be disillusioned, for the shrewd and hard-boiled Tsaldaris bargained him out of several of the demands on which he had conditioned his acceptance of the premier-

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ship. Tsaldaris controls 141 votes in Parliament to Sophoulis's 48; besides which, his party, the Populist, has the backing of the army and the crown. As a result, Tsaldaris, as Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, will be boss, as he was in the late Maximos government. Sophoulis wanted a majority of the Cabinet posts so that he could direct policy; he did not get them. He wanted the Ministry of War and the Interior, as well as that of Public Order—the three key posts in the operations against the guerrillas and the opposition in general; Tsaldaris put his men in the first two. Tsaldaris also forced the appointment of a Populist as Governor General of Northern Greece, with ministerial rank, which gives him direct administrative control in the chief area of disaffection. Not even the elimination of the ruthless Napoleon Zervas as Minister of Public Order will offset this Tsaldaris victory, for the success of the promised amnesty will depend entirely on the confidence of the guerrillas in the honest intentions of the men who will direct it. They can have none in Tsaldaris or his appointees. It is hard to imagine how an experienced politician like Sophoulis could accept responsibility for such a miserable coalition unless he was put under irresistible pressure by Loy W. Henderson, the State Department's emissary, who, in cooperation with Ambassador MacVeagh, has been busy "non-intervening" in the political crisis. Mr. Henderson was reported off to Washington with a "diplomatic triumph" in his pocket. We fear his gratification is a little premature.

*

ROBERT R. YOUNG, THE BAD BOY OF THE railroad business, is once more reminding his fellow-operators that a fundamental ingredient of the competitive system is competition. To railroad presidents, as to industrialists, free enterprise is the inspiration of all oratory, to be invoked at every suggestion of further encroachment by government; but in practice, as the rebellious chairman of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway demonstrates, competition is something not to be mentioned at a board table. In polite railroad society, it is understood that convenience and profits call rather for the cozy sort of arrangement whereby freight trains moving over the shortest route between two points take exactly as long as those moving over the most indirect route. Between Chicago and California, Mr. Young points out by way of example, there are eight important freight lines, varying in travel distance by as much as 450 miles; yet over each of them the trip is scheduled to be made in precisely 118 hours and 30 minutes. Confronted with this remarkable coincidence, which Young has spread before the nation in the form of full-page advertisements, the roads have offered only the most bumbling explanation. William T. Faricy, president of the Association of American Railroads, did not deny Young's charge of "deliberate freight slowdowns" but defended them as a device for preventing "speed wars," which would otherwise result from the "intense competition." Here is a bald admission which should interest both the Justice Department, as a practice in restraint of trade, and the Congressional committees that are about to investigate high prices. With the shortage of freight cars held to be a major factor in the inflated cost of food, it might be well to discover how many bushels of wheat and potatoes rot in the fields while freight trains inch across the country on schedules slowed down by agreement.

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NOVICES IN THE ART OF UNDERSTATEMENT are hereby referred to a master, Joseph R. McCarthy, Republican Senator from Wisconsin and last-ditch opponent of the mild Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill. "We found dead rats on the doorsteps, gas seeping from garbage, and veterans living in mud," the Senator reported after a visit to an emergency housing project in New York. "When you find conditions like that, you feel there is a problem."

The One World of Science

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S announcement that American radio isotopes will be made available for medical and biological research abroad is welcome news. During the past year, prospects have been poor for reviving the free international exchange of scientific information which has been the glory of science and the source of its achievements. In the fields of medicine and biology, the curtain has now been lifted by American action.

The cheap radioactive isotopes made in the atomic pile are the most important new scientific tool since the microscope. Their role in overcoming cancer needs no underlining, inasmuch as President Truman's announcement was made to the Fourth International Cancer Research Congress. However, they are just as valuable in other branches of medicine and biology. With radio isotopes as "tags," scientists can trace the infinitely complex processes that take place in living tissues, processes previously beyond man's ken. Within five years, hardly a medical or biological problem, from virus disease to growing old, will be tackled without the aid of radio tracers.

In sending radio isotopes abroad, we are doing ourselves as well as the world a service. Americans have no monopoly on scientific brains. A majority of the world's greatest scientists are Europeans. It was a Briton, Fleming, who discovered penicillin; a German, Domagk, who discovered sulfa; and a French couple, Irène and Frédéric Joliot-Curie, who discovered the first radio isotopes

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Given the tools and the opportunity, European scientists will repay us a thousand-fold with new achievements.

Some time will elapse before scientists abroad can actually take advantage of the American isotopes. Unfortunately, research with isotopes demands expensive equipment, such as Geiger counters. In Europe today, Geiger counters are even harder to obtain than food. Lack of equipment and food may prevent European scientists from making their full contribution for many years.

It will take a great deal more than this offer to end the suspicions that divide the world and to restore world-wide freedom of scientific exchange. Medicine and biology are, after all, only two of many vital fields of science. Nevertheless, the announcement is a step in the right direction.

The General Assembly

NEXT week, the General Assembly of the United Nations meets at Flushing Meadow. Its significance has been blanketed by the rapidly developing crisis in Europe's economy and by the actions of the leading states in the two main power blocs which have by-passed the world organization.

To some extent, this by-passing reflects the impotence of the United Nations as demonstrated by repeated deadlocks in the Security Council. And some of these independent actions cannot be put down on the red side of the international ledger. The grim fact is that the future of the world depends almost solely on the policy of the United States. In the present state of Europe's crisis, a bold and generous implementation of the Marshall plan is the essential of world recovery.

But the hope of the United Nations depends equally on American action. The major tragedy, which we have seen enacted over and over again at Lake Success, is that the overwhelming responsibility carried by the United States has been discharged in a mediocre, unimaginative, and fearful fashion. American representatives have acted like frightened little people, grocery clerks in a big-time poker game. We can only hope that the play will be different in the next weeks at Flushing.

The Assembly is going to have to grapple with some thorny questions among the sixty-odd items on its agenda. The Report on Palestine, a constructive, imaginative document, will be sunk in the cross-fire of big-power interests unless the United States gives its firm support and shows itself willing to help guarantee a new basis of peace in the Middle East.

The Greek issue is already prejudiced both by Russian intransigence in the Security Council and by American threats of independent action should the Assembly fail to back the United States position. If, in the coming weeks, Greece could be stabilized with a liberal government strong enough not only to declare but to enforce an amnesty and to lay plans for the economic reconstruction of the country, the United Nations would be in a stronger position to insist on an impartial border commission to patrol the troubled northern region.

The veto, now under strong attack, has become the focus of anti-Russian feeling. There will be strenuous debate; but the veto will remain, for the simple reason that any amendment to the U. N. Charter must have the approval of the Security Council, which is precisely where the veto can be invoked. But beyond the present veto crisis is the over-all consideration that originally accounted for the presence of the veto in the Charter—that is, that no major decision in international policy can be taken, veto or no veto, unless there is unanimity among the great powers.

The overwhelming issue the Assembly must face, therefore, is this: Will the desire for the conditions of a stable peace expressed in the debates of the General Assembly succeed in narrowing rather than widening the breach between East and West, between the Soviet Union and the United States? If former Assemblies are any indication, the smaller and middle powers will take the initiative in the attempt to recover the lost ground of peace. The role of the great powers is far less certain. But, with Secretary Marshall heading the American delegation, the United States has perhaps its last chance to assert a moral leadership truly reflecting its paramount position in the councils of the nations.

Realism for Survival

AS WE go to press, we are waiting for a statement by Secretary Marshall or the President himself insisting that Congress must convene in special session to decide upon emergency measures to save Europe. That such drastic action is demanded has become clear from the reports of American observers on the Continent and from Assistant Secretary of State Robert Lovett's press conference last week. What has disturbed us from the beginning about the Marshall plan has been the casualness with which it has been presented to the American people, who, after all, have the final say in its implementation.

The emergency action that must now be taken is something in addition to the long-term plan of European recovery which has been hammered out through the summer by the representatives of sixteen nations in Paris. It is called for because Europe's food and fuel supplies are dangerously near depletion and many countries will face desperate need by mid-winter unless help is given now. If the need is not met, then the economic and political chaos will have become so widespread by

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next spring that it may be impossible to put into effect any long-term program.

The storm signals have long been flying. Feverish attempts to maintain stability in England and in France, reports of bad harvests, the increasing unbalance of our import and export figures, all have emphasized the fact that a leisurely program of aid will not be sufficient to save Europe from collapse. Only the Administration's obsession with domestic political considerations and its small-town banker's approach to world economics can account for our allowing events to drift so close to the edge of disaster.

The actual progress made in Paris should prevent emergency-aid measures from being as barren of permanent results as the expenditure of $15 billion in relief made by the United States since the war. In fact, whatever justification may be found for Assistant Secretary of State Clayton's sharp demand that the Paris committee pare down its first estimate of $29 billion over four years lies in his insistence that the Marshall program must lead to a going European economy. It is quite obvious that Europe now faces the urgent need of food, fuel, and equipment, without which its workers cannot increase production. But, by the end of four years, it is reasonable to expect that Europe's mines will be producing more coal and iron and its fields more grain. Moreover, it may be assumed that, by that time, the food resources of Eastern Europe will be augmenting Western Europe's supplies—in spite of the political iron curtain—and that the production of Asia and Africa will be available. Even more valid seems to be the insistence that intra-European trade be developed as far as possible on a multilateral basis. An integrated European economy along the lines of the agreement now operating among Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxemburg may be some years in the distance, but steps in that direction can be taken now.

It has been singularly unfortunate that discussion of Europe's needs has been carried on in terms of the American dollars that must be supplied. In the first place, this emphasis is unreal since the value of the dollar—as Britain knows to its sorrow—fluctuates with the American price level. No one can predict what that level will be a few years hence, although sober economists question the prevailing belief of the politicians that the Marshall plan will step up American inflation. More important, to speak in terms of dollars obscures the real nature of the problem. During the war, we met certain objectives in terms of planes, guns, and tanks. Today, we can state similar objectives in terms of the food, fuel, and equipment needed immediately and during the next four years to get Europe's economy back on its feet. And these requirements are in turn related to the program of opening up Europe's inland transport system, the development of the Ruhr under international control, the starting up of Europe's factories. Perhaps, more than anything else, American economic aid is essential in the restoration of the democratic political life of Europe.

IT IS in this last respect that the Marshall plan has received some of the least informed criticism. "Are we to pay out good American dollars," it is asked, "to build up European socialism as a competing system to American capitalism?" In this connection, the recent report of the National Planning Association, which cannot be accused of leftist leanings, is pertinent. "The Socialist experiment in Western Europe," the report says, "unlike communism in practice, has involved no infringement upon the civil liberties of the individual. This, from an American point of view, is of supreme importance. Our primary concern should be whether individual liberty is protected, and not whether it finds expression under any particular pattern of economic life. If it is protected in any nation, that nation falls within the area of freedom which, for the preservation of our own liberties, we are called upon more insistently than ever to defend."

The success of the Marshall plan has also a direct bearing on America's economic stability. The emergency restrictions on American imports which both Britain and France have imposed during the past few weeks should be considered warnings of worse to come. An Atlantic Ocean empty of American merchant shipping would be scarcely less disastrous to us than to Europe. Already, the President's economic advisers are predicting a depression—a deep one, not a modest price adjustment. The obliteration of our export trade would hasten this catastrophe. While it is unfair to assert that the Marshall plan is solely prompted by American economic self-interest, it is only realistic to recognize that its implementation will mean that America's factories, farms, and mines will continue to export to Europe at about the same rate that has prevailed during the past two years.

Once we get beyond our dollar complex and think of the Marshall plan in terms of the needs of Europe's recovery, some of its challenge emerges. We no longer think, "Can we afford to pour into Europe billions of hard-earned American dollars?" but rather, "Can we afford to withhold from Europe the aid by means of which it can once more become a healthy part of the world in which we must live?" This is the point at which national leaders have failed the American people. Instead of fearfully estimating how much a particularly backward Congress can be cajoled into paying, they should challenge the American people to an enterprise scarcely less momentous than the one to which they responded when Europe was threatened by Hitler's armies. For we have faced no more serious threat since those armies stood at the Channel ports.

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Socialism, Communism, and the West

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

EVER since July 25, the second anniversary of the British Labor victory, I have been brooding, as I had often brooded before, over the way the advent of socialism in Britain has been taken for granted, neglected, or played down by the people in this country—liberals and radicals—who might have been expected to make at least as much fuss about it as they did about the advent of Soviet communism in Russia thirty years ago. And surely anyone who was present at the time and has been around since then will have to agree that the fanfare with which that great experiment was greeted, and the continuing passionate interest with which it has been reported, explained, defended, and played up, month after month and year after year, bear no resemblance to the mild fireworks set off by the same greeters when the British people went to the polls and voted by an overwhelming majority for a Socialist society, or to the unimpassioned interest with which the progress of British socialism, against tremendous odds, has been reported ever since.

Let me make it clear, before the shouting begins, that I am not complaining because liberals and radicals threw their hats in the air when the Russian Revolution took place. What troubles me is that the same hats did not go even higher, but on the contrary were played close to the head, at the advent of socialism in Britain. For it is my own deep conviction that British socialism, granting that it succeeds, will turn out to be infinitely more relevant to the future of Western civilization than Soviet communism.

"Granting that it succeeds" is, I admit, a tall hurdle at a time when Britain and British socialism—and Western civilization—are passing through the darkest of days. But let us assume, for the duration of this article at least, that Professor Toynbee's theory of the Stimulus of Blows and the Stimulus of Pressures is correct.

My reasons will be seen to consist of well-known facts.

1. While the October Revolution took place in a country outside the main stream of Western culture, the British revolution occurred in the very center of that culture, and particularly of its political culture.

2. While the October Revolution was a drastic overturn directed by a small group of Westernized intellectuals in a backward country, the British revolution, as a thousand people have said before me, was a revolution by consent, brought about by the vote, deliberate, free, secret, and peaceful, of the majority of the people of one of the most advanced sectors of Western culture.

No one will question the foregoing facts or their importance. From here on, however, while my facts may not be questioned, many will challenge their importance and more will deny their validity as arguments for my proposition that the British revolution is the most significant event of the twentieth century. And I am quick to admit that some of my reasons for believing that my proposition is correct spring from the very same elements in the British picture as the reasons which "the opposition" would give for arguing that my proposition is false.

3. While the October Revolution involved the shift from one extreme of social organization, feudalism (with a thin veneer of capitalism), to the opposite extreme, the proletarian state, the British revolution involved the shift to a Socialist order from a moribund capitalist order which had already been forced to appropriate many Socialist practices.

4. As a corollary, while the October Revolution repudiated the Russian past in a grand and terrible gesture, British socialism regards the British and the Western past not as a devil to be exorcised but as the matrix of the future.

5. While civil rights and freedom of thought, speech, and inquiry were, for reasons good, bad, and indifferent, not inherent in the October Revolution and are still, after thirty years, non-existent in the Soviet Union, the British revolution was accomplished without the sacrifice of these great Western concepts. On the contrary, they were the machinery by which the change from capitalism to socialism was effected.

6. As a corollary, while political fanaticism has from the beginning until now played a decisive part in the Soviet experiment, it has played and promises to play none whatever in the British experiment.

I NEED not be reminded that it is the very gradualism (point 3) of British socialism and its refusal to repudiate the past (point 4) which, as they have been manifested in Bevin's foreign policy—especially in respect to Greece and Palestine—have brought down the execration of Western liberals and radicals.

Britain's Socialist government *has* pursued an imperial policy in Greece and Palestine. But the same government at the same time has pursued a Socialist policy—and in a big way—by granting unconditional freedom to India. Place the two policies side by side and consider them in the perspective not of days but of a relatively few years, and I do not see how it is possible to deny that the granting of freedom to India is by far the more

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significant of the two—in itself and as an indicator of the future course of British foreign policy—if only for the simple reason that freeing India was an enormous step in the breaking up of the British Empire. And this process, along with the socialization of Britain itself, must inevitably weaken and eventually remove the very motivations that determine the present policy in Greece and Palestine. But the two policies have not been considered in relation to each other. They have been execrated or praised separately, and so great has been the preoccupation with Greece and Palestine that the granting of freedom to India has been treated as if it were a side issue if not some kind of Indian rope trick. Here again, a great event for which liberals and radicals have been crying their hearts out for generations has been greeted with a few perfunctory cheers. Inevitably the violence in Greece and Palestine overshadowed the quaint ceremony replete with ancient ritual by which the King of England peacefully renounced his claim, of two hundred years standing, to be Emperor of India.

Lenin's foreign policy was a complete reversal of that of the czars. Today, thirty years later, the Kremlin's policy is in great part not only a reversal of Lenin's but a continuation of traditional pre-Soviet policy. And this cannot be explained entirely in terms of the external situation—the fact that the Soviet Union is "encircled" by capitalism. It also indicates that whatever the extent and scope of Socialist development within Russia, that development has not yet swept away the old motivations.

Bevin's foreign policy has been a continuation, not a reversal, of the imperial Churchill's. The significant thing is that the continuity which these stodgy British insist upon has not only allowed for an imperialist policy in Greece and Palestine but also for the granting of freedom to India. And there is another point: while only a Socialist government would have taken this latter step without further long-drawn-out resistance, even the British Tories had accepted, willingly or unwillingly, the loss of India as a natural sequence in British history. There is small likelihood, therefore, that it will or can be reversed. And it seems to me logical to believe that thirty years from now the present policy in Greece and Palestine will appear as the vestigial imperialist policy of the first transitional phase of British socialism, while the granting of freedom to India will appear not as a temporary trick but as a foundation stone in the by then established structure of British socialism.

Bevin's policy in Greece and Palestine has also overshadowed, from day to day, the fact that socialization has been going steadily forward in Britain itself. It has, to be sure, been steadily reported, though its great human interest has been slighted. It has even been reported in detail, because there is no censorship, it is close to home, and the facts are on display. For these very reasons perhaps the emphasis has been, not as it was in the first years of the Soviet experiment—when no news was good news—on the larger fact that nationalization was going forward despite tremendous difficulties, but on the smaller fact that socialization in Britain has been slow and too kind to Colonel Blimp—only bad news has been news at all. But again, I think that thirty years from now the fact that the Socialist government moved slowly and overpaid stockholders will look less significant than the fact that the British economy was socialized.

THERE was a time when I shared wholeheartedly the contempt with which many liberals and radicals regard gradualism and any truck with the past. This attitude is particularly attractive to the citizens of a country with a strong penchant for violence and a deep emotional compulsion to forget the past or to regard it as having as little to do with the present and future as last week's newspaper. But my attitude has been somewhat tempered by my observation that beyond certain limits the past cannot be repudiated and that gradualism is not a theory subject to belief or disbelief but a process of history. I cannot help recognizing that today, thirty years after the October Revolution, the deeply engraved pattern of the Russian past is playing at least as decisive a part in Soviet policy, both foreign and domestic, as the blueprint of the Soviet future drawn up by Lenin and Trotsky. And I think there is no question that the Soviet reality will approximate that blueprint only after a gradual process which still has a long time to go.

Herbert Morrison

When I was in Russia in 1935, what impressed me most was the fact that the Soviet Union was a frontier society manifesting the crudeness as well as the energy the term implies. The energy and sense of power were overwhelming. So was my consciousness of a lack of "know-how" which was almost beyond the comprehension of a Westerner so conditioned to skill that he takes it for granted. To watch Russian workmen laying brick was to feel that one could do it better—merely because for a lifetime one had watched American workmen laying brick—and also to realize that such skills are not achieved by a whole population overnight or by decree.

The Russians have made enormous strides but backwardness still plagues them—it could hardly be other-

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wise, considering the historical stage of the country for which Lenin's blueprint was drawn and the catastrophes to which it has been subjected.

This backwardness is often mentioned in extenuation of Soviet policies, both foreign and domestic. But Western liberals and radicals, it seems to me, have never comprehended the extent to which it has operated in every phase of Soviet activity from the industrialization of Russia to the interpretation of Marx, and of Western ideas in general. Energy has consistently outrun skill. The present handling of the concepts of democracy and freedom is a case in point. This propaganda is generally regarded as "clever" and cynical—and it is both, in part; but in part also it reflects an actual crudity and an actual lack of understanding which Western liberals and radicals, out of their very sophistication in these concepts, are not equipped to recognize. For this and for other very plausible reasons, their response to the phenomenon of the October Revolution and Soviet developments since then has been quite natural—but in terms of their own ultimate goals defeatist.

Sir Stafford Cripps

WESTERN liberals and radicals would not dream of substituting the Soviet industrial "know-how" for that of the West. But they have, wittingly or not, willingly or not, substituted the necessarily limited Soviet version of socialism for the far less straitened, far richer Western version. The whole train of events beginning with the collapse of the Western Socialist movement at the outbreak of World War I and the success of the October Revolution has implanted the assumption that in the end Soviet communism was the only likely left alternative to capitalism. Liberals and radicals have been constrained, in a word, to feel—with emotions ranging from devotion to dismay—that the ultimate choice lay not between Soviet communism and Western socialism but between Soviet communism and Western capitalism.

As a result, liberals and radicals of the pro-Stalinist persuasion have been put in the impossible position of defending, if only by default, the Soviet denial of civil liberties and freedom of speech and inquiry, secret police and concentration camps, party fanaticism, intense nationalism, and the distortion of facts and ideas to fit ideological and nationalist patterns on the dangerous assumption that they were not the manifestations of Russian backwardness but the inevitable and excusable accompaniments of Soviet progress. At the other extreme, liberals and radicals of the anti-Stalinist persuasion have been put in the equally impossible position of being almost ready to support a preventive war on the Soviet Union under capitalist auspices.

Thus the obsession with Soviet communism as the only alternative led to and has progressively deepened the tragic rift on the left; it has also had much to do with another tragic development, the abnegation of the Western ideal of socialism. And one of the terrible by-products of all this is the widespread assumption that socialism is by its very nature totalitarian.

The great significance of the advent of socialism in Britain is that it offers another alternative—a democratic socialism democratically achieved. Since this is an alternative that most of the left could accept, it offers a basis for the rebuilding of unity. And, just as important, since it has at least a fighting chance of success, it justifies the rehabilitation as a positive force of the Western ideal of socialism. For if British socialism *is successful, it cannot help being the first step toward a* democratic Socialist Europe.

THIS perspective may be too long and too happy. Accept it for a moment, and it will be seen to offer great advantages merely as a tentative approach. The issue of Soviet communism, whether as millennium or menace, is retired as the *central* issue on the left. The positive program of fighting for a democratic socialism takes its place.

Best of all, in this perspective the position of the Soviet Union vis-à-vis the West takes on a far less frightening aspect.

It is quite true, I think, that the Soviet Union as it is now constituted cannot exist in the same world with the Western democracies except under an armed truce which may at any moment, by accident or design, explode into war—and what a war! It is equally true, I think, that Soviet communism as it is now constituted could not maintain itself very long in a Europe which had achieved democratic socialism. But the pressure which a democratic Socialist Europe would inevitably exert on Soviet communism would be not the threat, at the government level, of military destruction but the peaceful and irresistible pressure of people on people.

The possibilities of this process are discernible even now in the theater of Eastern Europe if, again, one lifts one's eyes from today's newspaper and takes a somewhat longer view. Soviet communism is winning the battles—and the elections. It is getting away with the suppression of political parties and the purging of individual opponents. But the emergence of the police system from the shadowy, sealed, backstage recesses of Russia to the full-lighted stage of Europe, and its application to "people we know," exposes that system for the first time to the actual observation and the judgment of the West. So far the spectacle has served, it would

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seem, only to increase the defeatism, happy or unhappy, which afflicts Western liberals and radicals—and for plausible reasons. It is all too easy to see in what ways Soviet communism is acting upon Eastern Europe. It is not so easy to see or to recognize evidence that it is being acted upon. But surely evidence of this sort is to be found in the Soviet denunciation of Western influence and of Russians who have "succumbed" to it, in Russia's campaign, concurrent with its movement into Europe, to discredit Western democracy, and its present attempts to justify its procedure in the countries it dominates.

It is meanwhile becoming clearer every day that Eastern Europe cannot be sealed off from Western Europe—Molotov went back to Moscow, but the trade pacts multiply. With a democratic Socialist Europe pressing upon it, Eastern Europe could turn out to be not the opening wedge of totalitarian communism moving west but the opening wedge of democratic socialism moving east, bringing in its wake the prosperity, peace, and genuine security in which the police state must wither away.

A SOCIALIST Europe, democratic and strong, would also go far toward combating the backward elements in the United States.

At the moment a Europe struggling toward democratic socialism and federation is caught between two backward giants—the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. The backwardness of the United States in relation to Europe lies primarily in the government's refusal to accept (1) the fact that the United States cannot get along without a prosperous Europe, and (2) the fact that Europe cannot afford and does not want a capitalist order. This is a menacing backwardness—which operates in every phase of official American activity; yet the pragmatic compulsion of the capitalist United States to support a Socialist Britain offers a point of pressure not to be overlooked. Neither should we forget that the present Administration—moving toward 1948—is very sensitive to the influence of labor and in general of opinion left of center as well as to the influence of the right. Through the application of pressure, the present Administration can be persuaded, out of an assortment of motives, to give aid to both Britain and Europe—and that aid can be turned to Socialist uses.

If my perspective makes any sense at all, then the main job of liberals and radicals is to unite—and unite quickly—on a program of fighting for democratic socialism in Europe, beginning with democratic socialism in Britain, not only as a goal in itself but as the *only* development that can prevent an insane atomic war and insure a peaceful prosperous world enjoying both security and freedom.

This does not mean that the Socialist experiment in Britain should not be criticized. Though its difficulties should be given just weight—as they have assuredly not been so far—it should, since so much depends upon its success, be constantly analyzed in terms of the Western ideal of socialism.

Soviet communism should be subjected to the same test. It has given the West lessons in energy and economic planning. Western socialism can give—is under obligation to give—Soviet communism lessons in civil rights, in freedom of thought and inquiry, those "skills" which were created and have been developed over a long period of time.

There are psychological obstacles to the program I suggest. One is the traditional American feeling toward Great Britain. It appears most often as anti-British; it is actually a feeling of ambivalence. But whatever its ingredients, this feeling makes it very difficult for Americans to work up enthusiasm for anything British.

Another is the obsession with Soviet communism, either for or against, as the only alternative. It will not be easy to dispel, even though the reason for it has lost much of its force. It has become a vested emotional interest, and Soviet propaganda is not designed to make it less so.

Still another, and very serious, obstacle is the half-conscious infatuation with violence and with power ruthlessly exercised, with the consequent carelessness of human life and minimizing of the human individual. This tendency was inevitable in a generation conditioned to cataclysm, to the mass murder of war, to the plausible, though illusory and in the end suicidal, belief that only violence works.

Drawings from life by Oscar Berger

Emanuel Shinwell

This complex of attitudes helps to explain why the facts (my point 5) that civil liberties and freedom of thought and inquiry remain intact in Britain and (point 6) that fanaticism—except for Churchill's resort to it—played no part in the shift to socialism have been so little stressed. To be sure, these facts, especially in the British contest, are about as newsworthy as the notation that a never-failing well has not gone dry. But their immense significance, for Britain, for Europe, and the world, is not thereby reduced.

Socialism, according to the Western ideal, is not merely a form of economic organization but a way of life. It envisages not the relinquishment of any of the

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goods of the Western past, in particular the great and still beautiful concepts of freedom for which our ancestors fought and died, but the addition to these goods of other goods—economic justice and social security. For while it is perfectly true that political democracy without economic justice is not enough, it is also true that without political democracy economic justice cannot long endure.

Western socialism also looks forward to the extension of all these goods to the whole world. And in a world which can afford them all, who can believe that its peoples will ever settle, or settle down, for less?

Chicago Has One More Chance

BY HOMER A. JACK

Chicago, August 30

ON AUGUST 13-16 the southwestern part of Chicago was the scene of the most serious racial disturbances since the widespread riots of 1919. Miraculously, nobody was killed, and the disorder was confined, but Chicago swayed dangerously on the brink of a city-wide riot.

Soon after the war Chicago began to experience violence in connection with the moving of Negroes into so-called "white" areas. The homes of Negroes were stoned and often were set afire with "Molotov cocktails." Since V-J Day there have been almost a hundred different attacks upon the person or property of Negroes—and occasionally upon other minorities. The disturbances came to a head at Airport Homes in December, 1946, when five thousand white neighbors marched on an emergency veterans' housing project because two Negro veterans and their families had been given leases. Policemen were hurt, cars were overturned, and a strong police detail had to guard the project for months, but the two Negro families stayed until one of their members was almost killed last February by the bullets of an unseen assailant. Airport Homes is an all-white project today, and residents of the neighborhood take pride in telling how they kept it so.

One of the last veterans' projects to be finished in Chicago was Fernwood, in a neighborhood where trouble was not unexpected. With the moral support of neighborhood newspapers, especially the *Calumet Index,* and of so-called "improvement" associations, such as the Fernwood-Bellevue Civic Association, the local alderman, Reginald Dubois, repeatedly said he could not guarantee there would be no repercussions in the neighborhood if some of the apartments in the project were leased to Negro veterans. Mr. Dubois begged the Chicago Housing Authority and its director, Elizabeth Wood, to by-pass its non-discriminatory policy just this once. But the authority, mindful of its public trust and of state statutes forbidding it to discriminate, went right down its list of 25,000 applications. And of the eighty-seven veterans assigned apartments at Fernwood, eight happened to be Negroes.

Move-in day was Tuesday, August 12. Crowds gathered that evening but did no damage. It should be emphasized that the white veterans in the project were not among them. On the second evening things began to get out of control. The police, 168 strong, made the tragic mistake of not dispersing the crowds as they gathered in the twilight. After dark the mob marched on the project, and two police lieutenants trying to keep it back were hurt with stones. The rioters then surged on to an adjacent arterial highway and stopped automobiles. They smashed fenders and threw stones through the windows of cars, mostly those containing Negroes. A number of Negroes required hospital treatment; only two persons were arrested.

On the third evening, despite an augmented detail of 365 policemen, the mob came close enough to the project to stone it and break the windows of three apartments occupied by white veterans. Prevented again from attacking the buildings or burning them, the crowd—estimated at five thousand people—made forays as far as a mile from the project to attack automobiles occupied by Negroes. Eighteen arrests were made that third night. One of the injured told me this story:

> I live in Morgan Park [a Negro community about a mile southwest of the housing project] and on Wednesday about midnight I decided to drive to the lake with my girl—it was so hot. We were rerouted off Halsted Street by police. Riding in my convertible roadster with the top down, we were waiting for the light to change at 103d Street when a brick was thrown at us. A crowd of about five hundred whites were on the street corner. I only saw three policemen. The brick hit my head and

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also my girl. I stepped on the gas and was able to get away. The police did nothing. At the hospital they told me I had a fractured skull.

After these three evenings of violence Thomas Wright of the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations and I had an early-morning conference with Mayor Martin H. Kennelly. We pointed out to the Mayor that proper police protection should be afforded or the militia should be called out. That evening, Friday, 1,000 police were assigned to Fernwood, the largest detail ever assigned in Chicago except for Presidential protection. Negroes continued to be attacked, however, and attempts were made to drag some off street cars and buses more than a mile from the project. One hundred and eighteen arrests were made, mostly of boys and men under twenty-five who lived within a mile and a half of Fernwood, though some came from as far as four miles away. A college student who was sent to observe the rioting reported as follows:

> One of the agitators in the mob yelled that if they could stop the traffic, the cops would have to straighten it out, at which time the crowd could break through the weakened police lines and rush the project. So the traffic was impeded. Then a boy shouted, "Nigger, Nigger." A stone flew, a safety-glass window crunched. And there started a bloody game of "bash their dirty brains in" which continued unchecked for almost twenty minutes. Every Negro-driven car was attacked, its windows smashed, and its occupants bombarded with heavy stones as it slowly traversed the traffic bottleneck.

The next day there were evidences that Mayor Kennelly wanted to find "a solution" to the situation. Since he turned to the Chicago Housing Authority and not to the police department, it was inferred that he sought some way of ousting Fernwood's seven Negro families (one had failed to move in). Civic groups immediately prepared to fight to keep the seven Negroes in the project and arranged a meeting with Mayor Kennelly on Saturday afternoon, at which Professor Louis Wirth of the University of Chicago and the American Council on Race Relations acted as their spokesman. The Mayor indicated that he would back up the Chicago Housing Authority and promised a public statement of policy. He had made no announcement, however, a week after the conference. The situation is complicated by the coming referendum for a bond issue for public housing; this will almost certainly be voted down now as a result of the Fernwood violence.

During the disorders civic groups were busy trying to prevent them from spreading. The first need was to stiffen the city policy. The second was to allay the fears of the Negro community and prevent retaliation. As a whole the Negro community acted with rare restraint, although on the fifth and sixth nights there were a few cases of counter-violence.

TWO weeks after the rioting there is an uneasy armed truce in Fernwood, with at least 700 policemen still guarding the project. It is widely rumored that the neighborhood's residents are waiting until the large police detail is removed, when they will drive the Negroes out and burn down the whole project if necessary. Because of the continuing tension, forty-one civic groups have presented a ten-point program to Mayor Kennelly and other civic officials which they feel must be put into operation at once if Chicago is to be spared further racial warfare. The program is so applicable to most other Northern metropolitan centers that a summary of it is given here.

1. The Mayor should, by public statement, reaffirm the policy of the city to protect the person and property of all its residents regardless of race, religion, or national origin.

2. Public officials, including judges of the courts, the corporation counsel, the state's attorney, and officials of all other social-service and investigative departments should take steps, which they generally have not done, to promote the speedy and vigorous prosecution of cases arising out of the Fernwood incident and any other instances of violence against racial or religious minorities.

3. The state's attorney and other appropriate agencies should investigate the possibility that the disturbances at the Fernwood project were the result of organized activity and a conspiracy to deprive people of their civil rights, and if such investigation discloses the existence of such organized activity and conspiracy, seek indictment and vigorous prosecution. There is cumulating proof that the racial violence at Fernwood as in other sections of Chicago was well organized, and that it had the approval of a network of so-called neighborhood-improvement associations.

4. The radio and the metropolitan and neighborhood press should assume continuing responsibility for the way in which they report incidents of racial and religious violence.

5. All organizations in the Fernwood and adjacent neighborhoods, especially churches, industries, unions, veterans' posts, parent-teacher associations, women's clubs, libraries, movies, and parks, should embark upon a program of education and action designed to eliminate further violence and increase the possibility of harmony within that area. One of the most difficult tasks has been the establishment of a beachhead in the immediate neighborhood of the housing project. Tentative conversations with the ministers of the Fernwood area show that churchmen behave little differently from non-churchmen in these situations. And yet the church and the volunteer welfare agencies have the best opportunities to combat overt bigotry.

6. The police department should institute a thoroughgoing examination of the racial and religious attitudes

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of its personnel, work out a comprehensive system of policing in racial and religious tension situations, and set up a training program in inter-group relations under competent direction. If any one factor fanned the friction at Fernwood, it was the initial inept policing. The order apparently went out for the police not to make arrests unless absolutely necessary. And many Chicago policemen are too prejudiced to act impartially in a mêlée caused by racial hostility.

7. The superintendent of schools and the officials of other school systems in the city should take cognizance of the current tensions which have recently given rise to violence and put into effect at the earliest possible moment a sound program of intercultural education, including the evaluation of teachers' attitudes in our public and private schools, especially in Fernwood and adjacent neighborhoods.

8. The acute housing shortage in Chicago should be dealt with by comprehensive planning, using both public and private enterprise, and the Chicago Housing Authority's non-discriminatory policy should be continued and supported. The violence at Fernwood once more emphasizes the fact that Chicago, for all its official and unofficial housing programs and committees, has not begun its post-war housing program. Indeed, since V-J Day more houses in Chicago have had to be abandoned because they have fallen down or for other reasons than have actually been built. The task is big enough for both private and public enterprise, and confidence in the efficiency of the Chicago Housing Authority must be maintained, despite the bitter attacks on its non-discriminatory policies and on its personnel.

9. In view of its demonstrated effective work the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations should be strengthened by increased resources and by enactment of a city ordinance giving it permanent and statutory status.

10. In order to correct the basic causes of prejudice and tension, the recommendations of the commissions of the Chicago Conference on Home Front Unity should be put in effect so as to eliminate as quickly as possible discrimination against Negroes and any other groups in the fields of employment, housing, health, education, recreation, and the enjoyment of civil rights.

There is no short cut to racial peace, as Charles Abrams pointed out in *The Nation* recently. The ten foregoing suggestions may help to delay, and perhaps even prevent, violence. But fundamentally, the causes of prejudice are the devices which keep peoples apart. And so the long-run, day-by-day procedures for lessening discrimination in all areas of society and against all minorities must be continued and accelerated if Chicago is to be saved. Chicago has one more chance.

Letter from Italy

BY MARIO ROSSI

Rome, August 30

THE Italian people are so deeply engaged in trying to solve the elementary problems of existence that political events, domestic and foreign, interest them only as their own situation is immediately affected. They are very skeptical about any promise of aid until they actually feel its results. Thus they are not excited by America's cancelation of the Italian debt or even by the Marshall plan. They do not realize that cancelation of the debt will leave Italy more dollars with which to buy grain in the United States and Argentina; they will be grateful only when they see the bread on their table.

One cannot blame them for this attitude, for food rations are terribly inadequate, and the government seems to be doing nothing to regulate consumption, increase production, and stop the inflation. Pietro Nenni, leader of the Italian Socialist Party, wrote recently in *Avanti:* "We are about the only country in Europe where the only limit to consumption is the money which people have at their disposal. . . . A sort of madness for spending has seized the rich and, we must admit, also the healthier layers of the population. . . . Indiscipline in the field of consumption has its repercussion in the economic and financial fields. The lack of any sense of responsibility in the leading classes is corrupting the whole nation."

The masses know that a closed caste is already so solidly intrenched that no true democracy or social justice is possible. And this perhaps explains the continuous trend toward the left shown in the recent local elections. There are today two million unemployed, which means that ten million persons, about one-fourth of the population, are without even the minimum necessities of life. This is the country's fundamental problem, and one doubts that any Marshall plan could solve it. For lack of raw materials and coal, industrial production today has dropped to 60 or 65 per cent of its prewar level, but even full production would not absorb all the unemployed.

The Marshall plan has become much less attractive

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for Italy since the countries of Eastern Europe refused to cooperate. Before the war one-fifth of Italian trade was with these countries, and they represent a market that Italy cannot replace. Germany used to take 70 per cent of the Italian production of vegetables and fruits in exchange for coal, iron and steel, machinery, and chemical products. Italy has therefore asked to be heard before the Allies make any decision affecting the future of Germany. Italy, moreover, shares France's concern about security. Important Americans who have been in Rome recently have spoken of the necessity of building up Germany to prevent it from going Communist. The average Italian fears that America wants to make Germany the economic center of Europe and that Italy's economic dependence will mean political dependence.

While the masses are inclined to wait and see, politically informed persons are asking a few questions. They realize that without help from America the country would have starved, but they do not forget that the United States is trying frantically to build up anti-Communist forces in Western Europe and to achieve this end is lending its support to the reactionary elements which are preventing the political, social, and economic changes so necessary if Italy is to become a progressive democracy. Many Italians are well aware that if they are being treated kindly it is because they are included in larger schemes. In other words, they fear that they are becoming more and more the pawns of forces which they cannot control. And after so many years of rule by armies of so many foreign nations they feel a strong urge to be once more the masters of their own destiny. This is a naive feeling, perhaps, in an age of super-states, when two nations are drafting policy for the rest of the world, but it must be considered nevertheless.

I DO not believe that American help in itself will buy De Gasperi more votes at next spring's general elections. The people know that certain fundamental social and economic reforms are urgently needed and that De Gasperi is not willing to carry them out. Had he really meant to do so, as he has promised so many times, he would not have formed a Cabinet representing exclusively the interests of the big industrialists and landowners or have sought the support in Parliament of the extreme right, which is determined to maintain the status quo.

It is interesting to recall the conditions laid down by the right for its support of the last De Gasperi Cabinet. "Christian Democracy," said the Uomo Qualunque leader, Giannini, "is a great bourgeois party, is a Qualunquist party without knowing it. . . . It is Christian Democracy that has changed by coming closer to us; we have not moved toward it." His meaning was quite clear: the extreme rightist Uomo Qualunque will support Christian Democracy as long as it remains "a Qualunquist party without knowing it," and follows the same line. Should the government act in any way displeasing to Giannini, whose party has only 35 seats out of 556, he would withhold his support and that would be the end of De Gasperi's present ministry.

Drawing by Lilly Rossi

De Gasperi

Italian liberals point out that there is nothing very strange in the Christian Democrats having gone over openly to the right. Even while sharing power with the Socialists and Communists, the Christian Democrats were strengthening their ties with the opposition. In the Rome municipal elections they joined forces with the Uomo Qualunque to prevent a candidate of the popular front from becoming mayor of Rome. In Sicily, where the popular front won a strong plurality, they made a deal with the Uomo Qualunque and the Monarchists to elect a Qualunquist president of the regional parliament in exchange for an entirely Christian Democratic regional administration.

To go farther back: at the referendum of June 2, 1946, six out of eight million Christian Democrats voted for the monarchy. And as for their record of anti-fascism, the 207 Christian Democratic deputies spent an aggregate of 3 years in jail and 2 in concentration camps during Mussolini's regime, while 219 Socialist and Communist deputies spent an aggregate of 295 years in jail, 17 in concentration camps, and 124 in confinement in penal islands; 3 were sentenced to death in absentia.

But the best proof of Fascist influence in the present government is the men who compose it. Luigi Einaudi, Vice-Premier in charge of financial matters, is a convinced monarchist and the president of Italy's biggest bank, the Banca d'Italia. The Minister of Transportation, Guido Corbellini, joined the Fascist Party on May 10, 1926, and on June 21, 1928, became an officer of the Fascist militia. The Minister of Merchant Marine, Paolo Cappa, supported Fascism before the March on Rome and was accused by the Socialist martyr Giacomo Matteotti of being an informer. The Minister of Foreign Commerce, Cesare Merzagora, is the director general of the Pirelli firm, one of Italy's most powerful industrial companies. Guido Gonella, Minister of Public Instruc-

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tion, has been foreign editor of the Vatican's official organ, the *Osservatore Romano*. The High Commissioner for Food, Vittorio Ronchi, was head of the Ministry of Agriculture under Mussolini. The Minister of Justice, Giuseppe Grassi, is a southern land baron and president of a reactionary landowners' association.

Having come to power with the support of the Monarchists and Qualunquists, the Christian Democratic Party faced the problem of how to maintain itself in power as long as possible. With general elections due in October, it had a mere three months to get its own men placed securely in strategic positions. It therefore undertook what even Don Sturzo has called a coup d'état and managed to postpone the elections till spring.

Unless the "radical right" withholds its support, and that seems most unlikely, the new Cabinet will now have many months of life, time enough to fill the civil service with its faithful followers. Even before the last Cabinet crisis, when the situation was very confused, the Minister of Public Instruction, Gonella, dismissed many provincial superintendents of education appointed by the Resistance and the Allies and replaced them with men of his own party. Gonella has been repeatedly accused of trying to discourage state schools in order to strengthen religious schools.

The Minister of the Interior, Mario Scelba, has replaced a number of provincial governors (*prefetti*) with men more to his liking. And in a highly centralized state such as Italy the Minister of the Interior can exercise so much power through the provincial governors and the police chiefs that the left has reason to be worried. Its newspapers warn of preparations made to influence the coming elections. While it participated in the government, even as a junior partner, the left was assured that no measure would be taken against it without its knowledge. It has now been deprived of that sense of security. And the result can be dangerous in a country so sharply divided on political issues as Italy.

Fight for Freedom in the Arctic

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Metlakatla, Alaska

IN THE high school at Nome sixteen-year-old Alberta Schenck read about Thomas Jefferson. Before the junior class she recited the wonderful lines entitling all people to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Certainly Thomas Jefferson must have felt that every girl ought to be able to go to a moving picture starring Tyrone Power or Gary Cooper, especially if she was escorted by a soldier in the United States army. That must have been what Thomas Jefferson meant by "the pursuit of happiness."

So Alberta stayed right in her seat when the manager of the theater ordered her over to the section "reserved" for half-breeds and natives. The Declaration of Independence said nothing about having to sit apart from other people because one of your parents happened to be an Indian. Alberta had learned in school that Indians and Eskimos lived in Alaska many centuries before the first white men landed there. Her ancestors, she had been told, had seen H. M. S. Discovery, Captain George Vancouver commanding, sail up Cook's Inlet in 1794.

But the manager of the theater apparently knew nothing of Thomas Jefferson or H. M. S. Discovery. Nor did the Nome police, for Alberta was seized by two constables and forced up the aisle and out into the raw March wind from off the Bering Sea. Her soldier escort tried to comfort her, but Alberta was more indignant than tearful. She remembered what the founders of America had said about "redress of grievances." She was not quite sure what this meant, but she had a vague idea.

Alberta went to the headquarters of the Army Signal Corps and sent a telegram to the Governor at Juneau, 1,100 frozen miles away. In it she told the Governor what had happened in the theater, and not wanting to deplete the territorial treasury, she suggested that he answer her "collect." She reminded the Governor that her escort was an American soldier, and that her father had fought in World War I and both her brothers in World War II. She had paid the same price as white people to go to the show. Most of all, Alberta wanted the Governor to do something "to better conditions at once."

Today Alberta Schenck can sit where she pleases in any theater in Alaska. She can have her hair waved at any beauty parlor; she can order dinner in the main dining room of the Baranof in Juneau or any other hotel; she can enjoy what her school books told her are the inalienable rights of every American.

Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts make up 40 per cent of the population of Alaska. They are descended from the

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Territory's original owners, the people who dwelt in Alakh-Skhak, the "Great Country," long before the white man took gold from its rivers and a king's ransom in furs from its animals. They form one of the largest minorities to be found in any land under American sovereignty; but before Alberta spoke up, they were discriminated against and often segregated. At the entrance to public places they encountered signs which warned, "We do not cater to native trade." This bigotry so permeated the atmosphere that during the war many American garrison commanders issued orders forbidding their soldiers to dance or associate in any way with Indian or Eskimo girls.

When the first invasion of American soil in nearly a century and a half took place on Kiska and Attu, Alaskans became aware that if the Japanese moved along the Aleutian Peninsula and struck at the mainland, the fate of the Territory might depend on the resistance of scattered Eskimo tribes. In the haste of the crisis the Alaska Territorial Guard was formed. An officer who could speak the native tongue, Major Marvin Marston, hurried by sled and plane from village to village drilling the Eskimos in guerrilla defense. Behind him trudged quartermaster units handing out old Winchesters and blue shoulder patches to sew on reindeer parkas. If the invader landed at one of Alaska's countless inlets or coves, the natives were to wage a desperate Fabian warfare until the alarm was given and the bombers of the Great White Father could come.

The natives might not be allowed to share a restaurant table with the white man or sit next to him in a dingy theater, but they proudly wore the shoulder patches and bought war bonds with their tribal funds. In igloos and fur huts Marston found pictures of President Roosevelt and General Eisenhower. "We got $10,000 reindeer money," a venerable Eskimo said to him. "Tell President Roosevelt we buy $10,000 war bonds."

The white population learned of the loyalty and sacrifices of the natives from Ernest Gruening, the first governor of Alaska ever to visit the far-flung villages along the Arctic Ocean and the Bering Strait. Gruening was also the first governor to condemn the prevalent discrimination. After almost eight decades of American rule the Indians and Eskimos found that at last they had a champion in the white-columned Governor's House at Juneau.

At a Thlingit village along the Inside Passage Gruening said to the Alaska Native Brotherhood, "Since I have been governor, I can assure you that nothing has been more offensive to me than to see the sign 'No Natives Allowed.'" He urged the natives to take part in politics, to vote in the territorial primaries and at the general election. "It is necessary," he said, "that the native people be truly a part of the electorate in proportion to their numbers and make their voice and their vote felt."

This had an ominous sound to Alaska's machine politicians, who have always feared full participation in politics by the large native minority. They called the Governor an "interloper" and "outsider," although they accepted with equanimity the domination of Alaska's fisheries and gold mines by outside corporations. They even tried, without success, to get the President to send a new executive to Juneau.

Drawing by Seligson
Ernest Gruening

When a bill was introduced in the territorial legislature banning discrimination "on racial grounds" in any public place, a member of the territorial legislature opposed it because the white man "represented 2,000 years of civilization and culture, whereas the natives of Alaska are but fifty years removed from savagery." The member also claimed that laws could not end prejudice and intolerance. He was answered by Mrs. Roy Peratrovich, president of the Alaska Native Sisterhood. She said that seldom before had a person "but fifty years removed from savagery had the opportunity to acquaint the product of two thousand years of civilization and culture with the contents of the United States Constitution." She then read the Bill of Rights, and concluded with these words: "I know that laws will not end prejudice and intolerance. We have laws against arson and murder, and yet still we have arson and murder. But at least we let it be known that civilized people are against that sort of thing. The natives of Alaska may be only fifty years removed from savagery, but we believe that our government should let it be known that we are against prejudice and intolerance."

The bill was passed in the Senate by a vote of seven to one. It failed in the House by a tie vote. But now the natives took the advice of the Governor. They put up their own candidates for the legislature and elected them. And at the next session the House passed the bill, nineteen to five. Perhaps prejudice and intolerance *can* be dealt body blows. Not one case has had to be brought under the new law. Display of one of the old anti-native signs would be punished by a fine of $250 and a month in jail. It would cost a Nome policeman his star to force Alberta Schenck from her theater seat now.

Andrew Hope and Frank Peratrovich, Indians who hold seats in the House and Senate, have been elected

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and reelected from southeastern Alaska, the long "panhandle" in which natives make up only 25 per cent of the population. "This is an indication," Governor Gruening points out, "that individual ability and merit are stronger than prejudice. It is also sound proof of how baseless this prejudice is."

Great doors on tiny hinges swing; and Ernest Gruening's championing of the natives may have swung the most important referendum in Alaskan history. When the Territory voted on statehood last October, the corporations lined up in a well-financed phalanx against the proposal. They were afraid membership in the Union would increase their taxes and loosen their grip on Alaska's natural wealth. Many white voters were influenced by the taxation argument, for Alaska has been the most lightly taxed entity under the American flag.

But statehood carried—by the unofficial margin of 9,565 to 6,820. Gruening stumped the Territory speaking for it, from the frozen shores of the Polar Sea to the spruce-clad coast within sight of the British Columbia railhead of Prince Rupert. And the natives stood by the man who had stood by them. The Indian villages voted more overwhelmingly for statehood than any white community. The question was decided in large measure by the people who not long ago could be dragged out of a theater if they would not occupy special seats.

"I hope," says Governor Gruening, "that the day may follow when men and women will be regarded as people, as Americans, as Alaskans, on a basis of character and ability only, and not as either 'whites' or 'natives.'"

A Backward Glance in History

BY WALDO R. BROWNE

ALL the passions are boiling over, and he who would keep himself cool and clear of the contagion is so far below the point of ordinary conversation that he finds himself isolated in every society." Thus wrote Thomas Jefferson to a friend in May, 1798. His country at this time was in the grip of acute hysteria, engendered by fear of a foreign power and hatred of a new form of government installed by that power. To the dominant political and economic classes in America, France was the menacing foe and democracy the odious subversive doctrine with which there could be no compromise. A few years before, the soil-grimed peasants and sweaty urban proletariat of France had overthrown the ancient monarchic tyranny, and their excesses had only recently subsided. Terrified by the spread of revolutionary ferment beyond French borders, the despotic governments of Europe, zealously abetted by the Vatican, were employing their ultimate resources of armed force and diplomatic intrigue in an effort to stifle the infant republic, with its dangerous slogan of "liberty, equality, fraternity." But in 1798 the armies of the Revolution were still invincible, both on their own soil and in adjacent countries. Disregarding the treaty of 1778, under which France had come to the aid of our own revolutionary cause, President Washington had given bitter offense to the French by proclaiming American neutrality in the European conflict and by strengthening political ties with France's arch-enemy, Great Britain.

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In this atmosphere French-American disputes and misunderstandings and provocative incidents flourished luxuriantly, until in 1798 a "Stop France" movement had attained formidable proportions in the United States, and a virtual state of undeclared war existed between the two countries.

The American war faction, composed in largest part of what James Parton has termed "the silver-forked civilization of the country," was politically organized in the Federalist Party, then holding power, and was led by Alexander Hamilton, whose ideal of government was the "rule of gentlemen" and who believed that democracy could lead only to anarchy. The anti-war and pro-French elements, consisting in the main of small farmers and industrial workers, were led by Thomas Jefferson, champion of popular government and the common man, who thought that revolution every twenty years might not be a bad thing for any country. In the Presidential chair sat the former Vice-President, John Adams, protégé and partisan of the Federalists, a statesman considerably smaller physically and mentally than his illustrious predecessor in office, honest and conscientious but lacking in broad political judgment and obsessed by a dislike nearly as deep as Hamilton's for what he once spoke of as "those democratical principles that have done so much mischief to this country."

With the anti-French hysteria at its culmination in 1798, Hamilton inveighed against France as "a den of pillage and slaughter" and against Frenchmen as "foul birds of prey." In and out of Congress America's recent ally in the war against Great Britain was assailed as "the spawn of revolution" and "the enemy of civilization." Stories of French spy plots and of French landings on

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the Southern seaboard, with "slaves armed—masters murdered in their beds—churches burned—women outraged—girls kidnaped—horrors piled on horrors," filled the Federalist press. "The clergy were urging the hate of French democracy as a Christian duty, and converting their pulpits into pedestals of Mars." Even such distinguished patriots as Monroe and Gallatin were branded as tools and agents of a hostile foreign power, converts to "the new religion of France"; and typical of the attacks upon Jefferson himself was a contemporary cartoon depicting "Mad Tom in a Rage," endeavoring with the devil's active assistance to pull down a pillar labeled "Federal Government." War measures—then, as always, designated "defense measures"—providing for creation of a navy, a greatly enlarged army, and heavily increased taxes were rushed through Congress under Federalist sponsorship.

Nevertheless, it was becoming evident that the war party had overplayed its hand and that the Jeffersonians' efforts toward sanity and peace were beginning to enlist majority support. Realizing the political consequences if they should fail to foment war with France, the Federalists now sought an effective means of silencing the party of opposition, the party of democracy. In particular, they had long been crying for suppression of those "nests of intrigue and subversion," the local democratic societies organized throughout the country to further political education. In the summer of 1798 the Federalists pressed through Congress three bills directed in one drastic way or another against aliens, and a fourth which imposed heavy penalties on every person, alien or citizen, found guilty of trying to stir up "sedition" or of writing or publishing anything "false, scandalous, or malicious" against Congress, the President, or the Cabinet.

Although little action was taken under the new alien laws, enforcement of the Sedition Act brought an official reign of terror, and "from 1798 until 1801 liberty was mobbed in America with the zealous support of the federal courts, to the applause of the church." But with each prosecution of some prominent Jeffersonian, public opinion showed itself predominantly on the side of the victim, sometimes with rather alarming vehemence. "Thwarted in their plans against the leaders, the terrorists turned upon the weak and lowly, demanding the discharge of Jeffersonian artisans employed in the manufacture of war material. Out with them! 'It is a notorious fact,' complained Fenno, 'that a number of artisans . . . are of politics destructive of the Constitution.' " One of the most flagrant proposals for immolating a prominent citizen under the Sedition Act was directed against Dr. James Logan of Philadelphia, who went to France in 1799 at his own expense and wholly on his own volition in an effort to determine the true state of French opinion toward America. He was a Jeffersonian, a peace-loving Quaker, who felt that his own country had been deceived by war propaganda. Upon his return there were cries that he be prosecuted for "defaming his country abroad" and holding "traitorous intercourse with the democratic conspirers against civilization." But on reflection even the more rabid Hamiltonians drew back from this extreme application of the Sedition Act, and the furor aroused by the Logan incident soon subsided.

The war party continued to rage against Jeffersonian "appeasement," but now with the knowledge that its cause was all but hopeless. "Tracy, who had wanted to arm the women and children against the French, wrote McHenry that while he had sacrificed much 'to root out Democracy,' he thought it 'to be lost and worse,' " and "Jonathan Mason was furious because 'from being respectable in Europe, from having convinced Great Britain, and from having associated with all the friends of Order, Property, and Society . . . we must again become soothers and suppliants for peace from a gang of pitiful robbers.' " The Federalists had gone much too far in their autocratic efforts to suppress opposition opinion and to embroil the country in war. President Adams broke with Hamilton and joined the forces striving for peace, charging in an angry letter that the Hamiltonians were nothing better than "a British faction." With the elimination of several prominent "war hawks" from his Cabinet and the appointment of a conciliatory minister to France, which also adopted a less intransigent attitude, French-American differences were gradually reconciled, and the war hysteria was left little or nothing to feed upon. In 1801 Jefferson succeeded Adams in the Presidency. In his brief inaugural address he said: "If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."

If knowledge of past events is chiefly useful as a guide to intelligent action in the present, Americans would do well to ponder the chapter from our early history summarized in barest outline above. (Perhaps the best detailed account for the general reader is contained in Claude G. Bowers's "Jefferson and Hamilton: The Struggle for Democracy in America," a few brief quotations from which are embodied in this outline.) "Those who cannot remember the past," says Santayana, "are condemned to repeat it." And even if any direct relevancy of that chapter to our current crisis be denied and its most obvious lessons rejected, these events of nearly 150 years ago should at least serve as salutary reminder that the seemingly novel perils confronting us today are in reality not novel at all. Only the stage and actors and particular circumstances are new; the drama itself is in all essential elements as old as the beginnings of man's harried progress toward a truly civilized collective existence.

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Hay Fever, Arthritis, Longevity

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

EACH year, at about this time, the steadily growing army of hay-fever sufferers become vitally interested in new medical treatments. Dr. D. L. Engelsher, who has been administering the anti-histamine drugs, benadryl and pyribenzamine, gives an account of his experiences with them in the New York State *Journal of Medicine*. Of 193 patients—ages ranging from three to seventy-nine—who were given benadryl and pyribenzamine on a three-day trial, two-thirds either felt no relief or their condition became aggravated, while of the remaining one-third, 9 per cent showed a marked improvement and the rest had mild relief. Drowsiness, an after-effect of the treatment, occurred in a considerable number of cases and should be emphasized, since it may prove dangerous to persons employed in work involving risk, such as drivers, machine workers, and the like. Dr. Engelsher concludes that although the new drugs have proved helpful to a small percentage of hay-fever sufferers, the vast majority are not sufficiently benefited. But my own experience with the drugs suggests that they are well worth trying, of course under careful medical supervision.

DISCUSSING the new strict controls over the sale of barbiturates in New York City, the official publication of the Medical Society of the County of New York requested the director of the Department of Pharmacology of a New York medical school to discuss whether "the barbiturate addict is just as much a danger to society as the narcotic addict." I quote from his answer:

> It seems that what the public needs to know is that the development of addiction to the barbiturates is much more difficult to attain and that short periods of use for mild nervous states and sleeplessness do not result in difficulties. . . . The more severe grades of barbiturate addiction are as difficult to cure as are morphine addiction. . . . Both are maladjusted individuals, incapable psychologically of coping with the problems of life, seeking an escape in the trance-like state of depression by a drug.

IN *Medicine* (New York) of August 3, 1947, Dr. William B. Rawles gives an interesting evaluation of present-day therapy in rheumatoid arthritis.

Gold therapy: Although this method has been in use for the past eighteen years, there is still a difference of opinion as to its real value. Many patients have discontinued its use because of the frequent toxic reactions. If the gold salts are employed in the early stages of the disease, a marked improvement is felt by 50 to 60 per cent of the patients.

Intravenous injections of procaine have been beneficial in cases of traumatic arthritis and osteoarthritis. Although Vitamin D has been used as a treatment for more than ten years, it has little or no value; other vitamins are useful only for their tonic effect.

Anti-Reticular Cytotoxic Serum: In six of the first group of twenty patients receiving doses of the serum temporary improvement was noted.

X-ray therapy: Although the results of X-ray treatments have been disappointing in peripheral rheumatoid arthritis, it is of considerable value in spinal arthritis. Dr. Rawles reports a marked improvement in 60 to 80 per cent of the cases.

Prostigmin: This is not advocated as a new treatment for arthritis, but it has been found useful in relieving muscle spasm.

Arthritis is still a protean disease: 60 per cent of its victims need thyroid, 40 per cent lack hydrochloric acid, and 40 per cent show liver disturbances. Anemia is often present.

ACCORDING to the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, 1947 promises to establish a record low in mortality. The death rate for the first six months of the current year was 7.6 per 1,000 policy holders, 3.8 per cent below that of last year during the same period. One of the favorable factors is the low mortality from influenza and pneumonia, 13 per cent below the previous minimum, recorded in 1945. Deaths from tuberculosis were 8 per cent below the 1945 minimum. Deaths from syphilis have decreased almost 30 per cent in the past decade, from appendicitis more than 70 per cent. This record seems all but incredible; happily it is true.

Among the several millions of insured children, the death rates from measles, scarlet fever, whooping cough, and diphtheria all add up to less than 1.5 per 100,000, which is very remarkable. Deaths from the diseases characteristic of later life have also shown a marked drop this year. The mortality from cardio-vascular-renal diseases has declined 1.2 per cent from that of last year. Diabetes mortality has declined 6 per cent. Even the number of suicides has dropped 7 per cent, and homicides 12 per cent.

If a new war does not rudely interrupt the American health race, we shall certainly fulfil the statistical prediction that by the end of the century 90 per cent of all deaths will be of persons over the age of forty-five.

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Del Vayo—The Temper of the French

Paris, September 4

THE third anniversary of the liberation, celebrated throughout France during the past few days, has provided a good opportunity to gauge the present temper of the French people. Two things were immediately apparent: first of all, the commemoration of this historic event, without which France might today be a province of a new German Empire, aroused little popular enthusiasm. Secondly, the separate celebrations organized by the various parties reflected the deep internal divisions that have opened in France.

The government ceremonies were marked by a characteristically cold and solemn tone. Other functions bore an unmistakable party stamp; they were not so much commemorations of French unity during the glorious struggle for liberation as warnings to the opposing faction, issued in an atmosphere of growing hostility.

I spoke with some of the heroes of the Resistance, the real fighters in the five grim years of occupation. They did not hide their disappointment, indeed their bitterness, over these party splits and especially over the attitude of most of the French people, who give the impression, at least to the casual foreign observer, of political apathy, fatigue, or outright indifference. The crowds in the streets listened as loudspeakers blared official speeches on France's mission in the world today and the reconquest of its former greatness; their response was a wry grimace, or one of those pungent comments typical of a people who have lost everything except their wit, or simply a shrug of the shoulders.

But it would be wrong to conclude from all this that France is through, so prostrated and obsessed by food shortages and the prospect of a collapsing currency that it has lost all interest in politics. Many observers wrote France off once before, in 1940; this time an unexpected surge of fighting energy in the French people may prove them wrong again.

Beneath this apparent apathy is the profound disillusionment of those who, throughout the period of resistance, had hoped that a different France and a different world would emerge from the war. Louis Saillant, president of the National Council of Resistance and now secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions, summed up their attitude in these words: "Most of the European peoples subjugated by the armies of Hitler dreamed that liberation would break the chains that bound them and open an era of political and economic independence. This expectation has been only partly fulfilled." And then Saillant ventured an explanation of Europe's frustration. "Can it be," he asked, "that influential American circles conceived the liberation as a simple restoration, as an investment which ought to pay dividends?" Refusing to accept the widespread notion that the French people were simply incapable of transforming the liberation into a true revolution, Saillant placed the responsibility for the present critical situation squarely on those who intended from the start that the liberation should be nothing more than liberation from the Germans and not from the political and social system which caused the fall of France.

The disproportion between what the Resistance hoped for and what has actually been accomplished in the past three years becomes obvious from reading the texts of the resolutions and demands formulated in the midst of struggle when the Gestapo was torturing and executing any underground workers it could lay hands on. I spent the official holiday going through this literature. Most of the resolutions seem to have been drawn up in much the same atmosphere as that of the 1789 Convention, where the uncompromising austerity of Robespierre and the impassioned speeches of St. Just made history that is still undimmed after a century and a half. The same patriotic ardor animated the underground leaders; they exchanged their guns for pens in the hope of liberating France not only from the Nazis but from the political and economic evils that made possible a retrogressive movement like fascism. For the best men of the Resistance the armed struggle against the invaders was part of the broad struggle against fascism in which my country was the first resistant; reading these underground documents, I was deeply moved by frequent references to the Spanish republic and its heroic fight.

Since varied political tendencies were represented in the French Resistance, the documents do not make clear the nature and the scope of the revolution they planned to set in motion. But in any case it was to be a democratic, anti-capitalist revolution that would destroy once and for all the age-old privileges of the industrial and financial oligarchy gathered at Vichy.

The revolution has been paralyzed, thwarted, but many of the forces which worked for it are still active. They are continuing their activities, apart from official France. That is why they did not participate in the government's liberation ceremonies but chose rather to organize separate demonstrations and meetings. Some have fallen back on themselves, and the visitor unfamiliar with the present situation is apt to assume that they have quit or dispersed. On the other hand, the right, which last year was still cautiously measuring its every step, is now most active and vocal. A realignment of French reactionary forces has taken place. Their propaganda is subtle, audacious, and efficient, adapted to the needs of the day; they are utilizing the same demagogic approach to social questions that has proved so successful for Perón. Their patient, jesuitical politics continues to exploit the mounting popular irritation over high prices and the bread shortage, and to prepare the psychological conditions "for the day De Gaulle decides to move."

[*In next week's issue Mr. del Vayo will continue this discussion with an article on De Gaulle and the October elections.*]

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BOOKS and the ARTS

A Slender Reed

THE CULTURAL APPROACH: ANOTHER WAY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. By Ruth Emily McMurry and Muna Lee. University of North Carolina Press. $3.50.

THIS volume deals not with cultural approaches to international problems but with cultural-relations programs. For ten countries of the world it describes their policies of putting themselves across internationally by means of radio broadcasts, subsidized literature, information centers and national institutes abroad, and bilateral exchange of persons. The United States entered this field late and on a small scale in the years immediately before the last war, but many other nations have included it in their national budgets for a much longer period.

The book examines official statements of policy and the dates at which various programs were adopted, not the content of broadcasts or the character of the personnel exchanged. It quotes official claims of the success of these programs in furthering the special purposes of the initiating nation but does not attempt to make any independent investigation of results. It is therefore a handbook of official pronouncements about this "arm of foreign policy."

The nations examined are pre-war Germany and Japan, Russia, France, Great Britain, certain South American republics, and the United States. They differ hardly at all in their claims that such programs facilitate that country's economic and political advancement beyond its borders. Some nations also add that exchange of persons is a valuable way of getting extensive information about other countries. The larger nations agree that they must combat the propaganda of others. A French deputy rhetorically asked the Chamber of Deputies as far back as 1900, "What political operation or armed invasion was ever able, with less expenditure, to produce such important and lasting results?" As one reads, one is obliged to recognize that cultural-relations programs, though they are bloodless and war is not, are far from being "another way in international relations." We have them because we have also war, and not because we are eliminating war.

Cultural-relations programs have furthered many excellent objectives—from broadcasting daily news to helping a doctor or a nurse get better professional training than was available in his own country. The difficulty is in the nationalistic sponsorship. Radio broadcasts financed on some other basis than because they further economic and political penetration of another country would command more credence. The program for training doctors and nurses and teachers would be less suspect if it were run by an international board of their own profession and financed by groups working for world health and schooling. This is impossible today both because we still live under the threat of war and because only national treasuries are large enough to grant the sums necessary. This fact should not blind us, however, to the recognition that official cultural-relations programs, however honestly they are administered, are structurally ill adapted, in Archibald MacLeish's words in the Introduction, "to improve the mutual understanding of peoples by substituting for the artificial image of the state the human and living image of the people themselves." We must support them because they are what we have in the world as it is, but we shall be deluded if we bank heavily upon them.

RUTH BENEDICT

Radio's Responsibility

THE AMERICAN RADIO. By Llewellyn White. University of Chicago Press. $3.25.

ONE of the great accomplishments of the singing commercial is the fact that it has irritated the public into an interest in what makes radio tick. During the last few years an enormous number of people have learned, to their amazement, that the public owns the broadcast channels, and that radio stations are licensed on the theory that they will serve the "public interest, convenience, and necessity." To this growing awareness of the broadcasters' obligations "The American Radio" makes a very important contribution.

As radio man for the Commission on Freedom of the Press, Llewellyn White was responsible for the draft of the radio sections of that commission's report, "A Free and Responsible Press." The work of the staff consumed numerous man-years, but the report itself was a rather brief pronouncement bearing the signatures of the odd-dozen Caesar's wives who ornamented the commission's letterhead. The commission has, however, made the overflow of its investigations available in a series of volumes signed by its staff members, of which this is one.

"The American Radio," consisting of the research notes which led to the conclusions expressed in the final report, is a compendium of background material on the technology, finances, and politics of radio, dictated chronologically and carefully checked against the knowledge of experts in the field, among whom copies of the draft were circulated. It is a useful if not inspired handbook. The writing is rather uneven because it is apparent that the author has never quite decided—nor does the format make clear—whether he was speaking ex cathedra for the commission or only for himself. This is not to say that the book is inhibited or restrained in tone. Mr. White has very definite opinions. All of them are interesting, but some conflict sharply with others.

For example: On page 198 Mr. White feels that the Federal Communications Commission's "Blue Book" requirement, that stations devote a certain portion of time to public-service programs, is unconstitutional; ten pages later he proposes that the FCC set up schedules of required public service much more detailed than was ever contemplated in the "Blue Book." And he specifically denies the notion that this proposal would be unconstitutional. Then, on page 178, at the same time that he is castigating broadcasters as "men who do not understand the First

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Amendment," he urges that they be given greater freedom, through the abolition of the "Mayflower" rule, to pursue their personal predilections at the expense of other points of view. (The "Mayflower" rule requires stations to act merely as public forums of ideas, presenting all sides but refraining from adopting any editorial policy of their own.)

Although he expresses a strong belief in freedom of speech, he disagrees with the FCC's unanimous opinion that atheists, no less than spokesmen for religion, are entitled to time on the air for discussion of their views. And he defends the California station which, in an adroit effort to embarrass the FCC, gave time to an atheist at an hour which it knew would offend most listeners—the hour on Sunday which has been used for many years by the Salt Lake City Tabernacle Choir.

Mr. White is at his best in his criticisms of broadcast programs—it is obvious that he put in many long and grueling hours of night work beside his receiver—and he goes to the heart of radio's worst program abuses. As an ex-newspaperman he is shocked by the realization that newspapers, if they were managed as radio is, would sell not only their advertising columns but their news and feature columns as well. Radio stations have delegated to advertisers their responsibility to create programs—practically all of the program service which stations are sworn to perform is delegated to such agencies. Mr. White makes this analogy: "It is rather like a householder who carefully investigates someone to whom he proposes to sublet his home, only to discover that quite another family, about which he knows nothing and which is not bound by any lease to take care of the property, intended to occupy the premises all along." He devotes considerable attention to the National Association of Broadcasters, and clearly reveals the hollow nature of the N. A. B. codes, which, while purporting to be serious documents of self-regulation, are in reality so much public-relations confectionery.

He is concerned most, however, with radio's apparent failure to fulfil its responsibility to keep Americans informed about the current questions which, as citizens in a democracy, they are called upon to decide. Time is short, he feels; the atom bomb is ready, and unless the people of the world quickly arrive at a degree of sanity, we are all surely doomed. Surveys have revealed a shocking lack of knowledge of important subjects. In spite of an extremely high literacy rate and wide access to the radio, people are not getting all the basic information they need in order to vote intelligently. Mr. White finds, as many others have found, that radio has been even more derelict than other media in the performance of its duty to inform.

He makes numerous suggestions for the solution of this problem, but they boil down to these: an exhortation to the radio industry to take its responsibility more seriously and to temper its commercialism with professional standards; a demand that the FCC act more courageously, and listen occasionally to the still, small voice that is usually labeled, "Dissenting Opinion by Commissioner Durr"; a plea to the N. A. B. to improve the industry's ethics; and a suggestion to the public that it make itself heard, both in the stations and in the FCC. JEROME H. SPINGARN

For Sages and Philistines

APPRECIATION: PAINTING, POETRY, AND PROSE. By Leo Stein. Crown Publishers. $2.50.

WHAT a delightful man Leo Stein must have been—if this book mirrors his personality as faithfully as it seems to. Here is a statement, which, alas, recently proved to be a last testament, of a man who made an appreciation of the arts a living, active, and fundamental part of his life. Without the least trace of snobbery or obscurantism he has stated the bases of his appreciation with a lucidity and directness which should disarm the most ardent of philistines and inform the most erudite of pundits. Perhaps his sister Gertrude, whose "cubist" approach to literature he does not seem to have particularly appreciated, may have been partially responsible for his patently wonderful sense of the value of words, and for his passion for composition both in painting and writing. His tastes might well be considered conservative—among his gods are Shakespeare, Milton, Byron, Giorgione, Cé-

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zanne—but his enthusiasms have all the novelty that can be engendered by real passion distilled through a sharply analytical mind.

Most of the book is devoted to a statement of what he likes in the way of painting, poetry, and prose, and why he likes it, and this embraces an expression of his personal philosophy, his views on a multitude of subjects, and some excellent critical analysis. He says that his critical analyses are sketchy and impressionistic, but to the reader they seem to be wise without being in the least didactic or pontifical. The remainder of the book is devoted to reminiscences of painters such as Picasso and Matisse—how tactfully he avoids the dreadful intimacies and quaint anecdotes by which such impressions are usually marred—and of life at 27 Rue de Fleurus, where he and Gertrude lived and started assembling their art collection. "Art for art's sake is a silly slogan," says Mr. Stein in the last pages of this book, "and art is only important as an integral part of culture." Certainly it is the fact that he had obviously integrated his own appreciations so thoroughly into his life and culture that makes this such a charming, informative, and human book.

ANTHONY BOWER

New Angle

THE WINE OF VIOLENCE: An Anthology on Anti-Semitism. Edited by Nathan Zuckerman. Association Press. $5.

HISTORIES of anti-Semitism already exist in abundance, and new tracts, many disguised as fiction, issue from the presses hourly. But Mr. Zuckerman has a new angle. In his "Anthology on Anti-Semitism" he assembles quotations, most of them very brief, from a few hundred miscellaneous authorities, including such strange bedfellows as J. Edgar Hoover and Earl Browder, Chaim Weizmann and Adolf Hitler, Ben Hecht and Leo Tolstoy, Theodore Roosevelt and Henri Bergson. There are also liberal selections from the men who would naturally appear in such a book: A. L. Sachar, Maurice Samuel, Ludwig Lewishon, Hugo Valentin, Lee J. Levinger.

Mr. Zuckerman's impersonal method justifies itself mainly in the lively disagreements about causes and cures. Most contributors urge that the fiber of Jewish life be strengthened, although Heywood Broun and others beg the Jews to solve their problem by vanishing. R. C. Rothschild cautions the Jews not to be unpleasantly insistent on their legal rights, while bolder spirits demand new legislation against race hatred. Some curious shades of belief are represented, including one point of view that this reviewer had long thought to have been invented by defenders of Jewish rights in order that they might destroy it with irony: "Let every Jewish student realize that his loud voice and touseled hair will do as much harm to Jewry as a dozen lies from Streicher, and we shall notice a diminution of the apparent discrimination in colleges." It is reassuring to learn from this evidence that Maurice Samuel had not invented his opponent when he criticized those who wish that Moses had brought Emily Post's "Etiquette" from Mount Sinai instead of the Ten Commandments. The conflict of opinion frequently dramatizes these very issues: a choice between "Etiquette" and the Ten Commandments, between an uneasy acceptance of second-class rights and a militant affirmation of democratic privileges.

The technique of the invisible editor frequently serves no purpose, especially when Mr. Zuckerman offers short and snappy value-judgments on anti-Semitism. "Is anti-Semitism moral bankruptcy?" The answer is "Yes!" twelve times. "Is anti-Semitism reactionary?" The answer is "Yes!" seven times. The editorial method becomes downright silly when Mr. Zuckerman selects paragraphs from here and there to write a history of anti-Semitism. The quotations overlap, facts are repeated, new rhetorical turns are employed for the same old entreaties. But once this unique method of assembling a work on anti-Semitism is allowed, the editor makes few additional mistakes. The scientific and economic analyses might have been more strictly segregated from the generous statements of amateurs (Orson Welles, Archbishop Spellman, and Ben Hecht are among the specialists who diagnose anti-Semitism as a disease); a more consistent employment of the distinction between anti-Semitism and anti-Jewishness might have helped give a pattern to the book.

The editor has granted representation to almost every shade of opinion; general disagreement is therefore to be expected. All that seems certain is that a number of Jews appear to be wilfully insistent upon maintaining their existence, their identity, and their rights and that they and their Gentile allies have worked out a variety of programs for survival. Fortunately, most of these programs are not mutually contradictory.

HENRY POPKIN

Prophet of Doom

LEON BLOY: A STUDY IN IMPATIENCE. By Albert Béguin. Sheed and Ward. $2.75.

LEON BLOY, who in his lifetime suffered—vociferously—from obscurity and want, is coming royally into his own. A very fine book, "Présence de Bernanos," begins with a glowing testimony to the strange and angry master. I reviewed a while ago in *The Nation* Raïssa Maritain's "Pilgrim of the Absolute." The present work also offers the life and thought of the Ungrateful Mendicant, the scurrilous satirist of "Swine-on-the-Marne." It is not an anthology but a collection of four long essays: Initiation into Suffering; Poverty, Money, and the People of Israel; The Symbolism of History and the Soul of Napoleon; A Prophet of our Catastrophe and His Impatience. It is of high and sustained merit. Its weakness is that it claims for Léon Bloy a solitary grandeur which is fictitious. Bloy was not alone in rejecting "the popular belief in the steady progress of the species and the early advent of a golden age." It would seem as if no one among the modern prophets of doom had read the second Hugo, Leconte de Lisle, Taine, or Sully-Prudhomme.

The American edition of Béguin's book contains a very useful Historical Sketch of the Life and Work of Léon Bloy. Raïssa Maritain had not dwelt on the commanding influence of Anne-Marie Roulé, which was "the Secret of Léon Bloy." (Yet letters on the subject were published by Jacques Maritain in 1936.) Anne-Marie was a prostitute with whom Bloy fell passionately in love. He converted her, but she soared beyond his guidance. She saw visions, announced the end of the world, an

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apocalypse in which the role of Elijah was reserved for Bloy. She died twenty-five years later in an insane asylum. But according to his hagiologist, "Léon Bloy's inner life was largely determined by these revelations, to which he never ceased to lend the utmost credence." When the validity of the mystic experience is discussed, such facts should not be overlooked.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

In Brief

ATOMICS FOR THE MILLION. By Maxwell Leigh Eidinoff and Hyman Ruchlis. Whittlesey House. McGraw-Hill Book Company $3.50.

HERE is an excellent text for a man with vivid memories of high-school chemistry and physics. It is really an elementary book on atomic physics, very well written and containing lucid explanations of the why and wherefore of things—of matter and energy.

These days all roads lead to the atomic bomb. The many pages devoted to atomic physics are merely a preparation for the understanding of the final explosion. But must the atomic bomb represent the crowning glory of the work of chemists and physicists? No, indeed, if the chemists and physicists, headed by Einstein, Urey, Fermi, and others, have anything to say in the matter. The internal energy of the atom, which we can now tap, must be used for peaceful purposes, and the authors of this text wisely devote some 60 pages out of a total of 270 to this theme.

THE PROBLEM OF REDUCING VULNERABILITY TO ATOMIC BOMBS. By Ansley J. Coale. Princeton University Press. $2.

THIS is a report prepared for a committee of the Social Science Research Council, studying the social and economic aspects of atomic energy. What, if any, are the methods which can be used to reduce vulnerability to atomic warfare? Mr. Coale analyzes this problem. While it becomes obvious that some form of decentralization will be necessary, and primitive cave-dwelling may have to be resuscitated, no specific conclusions are drawn.

BENJAMIN HARROW

THE STORY OF ARCHITECTURE IN MEXICO. By Trent E. Sanford. W. W. Norton and Company. $6.

FOR the first time it has occurred to someone to write a popular book on Mexican architecture. As a matter of fact, it is much the same book about Mexico that we have been given, over and over, for the last ten years, only that this time it is about architecture. There are the same stories, from the same sources; the itinerary is the same; the same buildings are described with the old familiar inaccuracies. But since there is nothing else of the kind that an intelligent tourist can put in his suitcase, we should perhaps not cavil; and in these days any publisher who will "risk" such a book deserves honest praise. The illustrations are excellent, and new, and will help to show that there *is* architecture in Mexico, and that it is worth going to see.

ELIZABETH WILDER

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Films

JAMES AGEE

THE Italian-made "Shoeshine" is about as beautiful, moving, and heartening a film as you are ever likely to see. I will review it when I am capable of getting any more than that into coherent language and feasible space.

"I Know Where I'm Going" is a very pleasant English film by Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger. It is the story of an imperious young Englishwoman (Wendy Hiller), about to marry for money, who is delayed among the natives of one of the islands off the coast of Scotland and there learns better things about herself and about life in general than she might have expected to. Some of this story is told, and charactered, with slickness and whimsy as well genuine lightness; I kept realizing, as I watched and enjoyed it, how shallow and shabby it would probably seem in print. But there are engaging performances by Miss Hiller and Roger Livesey; the sensitive photography and the intelligent if not very imaginative use of sound do more than enough to make eloquent the influence of place on people; and the whole thing is undertaken with a kind of taste and modesty whose absence did much to harm Messrs. Powell and Pressburger's "Stairway to Heaven" and "Black Narcissus." Theirs is a gentle sort of talent at last, but at times they know very well how to use it, without much concession to their liabilities—inordinate ambition, bumptiousness, and a general unevenness of judgment.

"Kiss of Death," which sketches the embarrassments of a burglar who becomes a stool-pigeon, is another of Hollywood's "locale" movies. (Possibly that word will do: what I mean by it is that the picture is shot mainly or wholly in actual places; the story, as a rule, is based on fact, though that seems to me less important.) It is written, coldly and convincingly, by Ben Hecht and Charles Lederer. It is directed by Henry Hathaway and photographed by Norbert Brodine. The script, though expert, is certainly not inspired, and I can't believe that the director and camera man are better than thoroughly competent, either. All of which makes "Kiss of Death" the more striking, for apparently if good technicians pay careful attention to the actual world, they can hardly help turning out a movie that is worth seeing; and the actors who have to play up to this world are greatly stimulated and improved by their surroundings, too. I don't care as much for this film as for the much more lively "Boomerang," but in its own way it is nearly as good a job. Victor Mature is good as the burglar. I have always wished I might cast him right; he is well cast this time. In any adequate production of the picture he would be still better in a still better role: as Diomed in Shakespeare's "Troilus and Cressida."

"The Roosevelt Story" is interesting to see, chiefly because it includes a good many revealing portraits of the late President, and because in most other respects it is so archetypically awful. It claims to be non-political, which is as absurd as if one put out a biography of Babe Ruth, taking care to avoid the hot subject of baseball. Its commentary approaches the low, to date, in pseudo-common-mannishness (and that is a pleonasm if ever I perpetrated one). You can't help realizing as you watch it, still more as you listen to it, that a terrifying number of Americans, most of them in all innocence of the fact, are much more ripe for benevolent dictatorship—and every dictatorship is seen as benevolent by those who support it—than for the most elementary realization of the meanings, hopes, and liabilities of democracy. It is doubtless an exceedingly well-meant film, but that doesn't exactly reduce its power to sadden and to disturb. It includes a good many shots of the dead-march in Washington. These are some of the most beautiful shots ever put on film and, properly arranged, could be as great and as moving, in their far more complex and qualifiable way, as Whitman's threnody. They were very well ordered in the newsreels just after Roosevelt's death. Here they are so used as binders, and as springboards for flashbacks, that most of their possible power is thrown away. But even in this mangled state some of the single shots are enough to stop the breath.

"The Devil's Envoys" is the work of Jacques Prévert and Marcel Carné, who made "Children of Paradise." The pretentious, hammy, romantic symbolizing and oblique philosophizing of the latter bothers me more than it used to, but I still very much like the picture; it does have style and glamour. "The Devil's Envoys" has style and glamour too, but not of a kind I can care much for. The effort is to make a movie equivalent of one of those medieval romances which have always seemed to me as overrated as they were interminable; and to lace this sleepy posset with a lot of heavy allegory about Love as Evil and Love versus Evil. Quite a bit of it is elaborately beautiful; but I was forced to realize anew, as I watched it, just how boring unalleviated beauty can be. Once in a while this trance-like ballet of beauty and black magic permitted, almost as if by accident, a glimpse of what the actual Middle Ages must have felt and looked and smelled like. At those moments the picture became wonderful, magic and beauty and even allegory included. But most of it is like a required reading of "Aucassin and Nicolette," translated into Middle High Marshmallow. It is a discouraging sign of the times that "The Devil's Envoys" won a French Critics' award. That goes far toward helping explain why the best movies in the world, and in many years, are being made in Italy.

I was astounded to hear that some knowledgeable people think of "Brute Force," a movie about men in a big jail, as a happy return to the melodramas of the early thirties. Maybe so, in some of the jab-paced, slickly sadistic action sequences. But there isn't a line in it, or a performance, or an idea, or an emotion, that belongs much later than 1915, and cheesy 1915 at that. And terrible as the movie is, that is its considerable charm. I suspect, without malice, that the ideal audience for O'Neill's "The Iceman Cometh" is in some non-temperance Old Men's Home along the Bowery—it is in that sense a genuine and likable folk-play. I also suspect that the ideal audience for "Brute Force" is among men who have been shut off from the world, paying their debts to society—as society laughingly puts it—since Pershing was a pup. I am sure they were never like the men in this picture, even in their youth; but I'm also reasonably sure that they think they were, and think people still are. If you have ever seen a country audience taking "The Old Homestead" for Gospel, you'll know what I mean.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IN "Two Worlds of Music" (Creative Age, $3) Berta Geissmar writes about the years in which she was close friend, secretary, and adviser to Furtwängler and manager of the Berlin Philharmonic, until she was forced out of her positions by the Nazis and had to leave Germany; and about her subsequent experiences as secretary to Beecham and manager of the London

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Philharmonic. The book is not without interesting details, especially in the portion about Beecham; but about Furtwängler it is sketchy, incomplete, idolatrous, and worthless, since it creates a picture of someone with no resemblance to the flawed musician and flawed human being that Furtwängler is by the testimony of more reliable witnesses, including himself.

The book is an amazing revelation of the lack of moral awareness on the part of its three chief characters—Furtwängler, Beecham, and Dr. Geissmar—in the situations in which they found or placed themselves: on the part of Furtwängler in staying in Germany, especially when there could no longer be any pretense that he might be able to get the Nazis to change their policies, or could benefit anyone but himself; on the part of Beecham in going to Germany to conduct; on the part of Dr. Geissmar in going back to Germany to arrange Beecham's appearances there and to engage German artists for Covent Garden (Beecham got amusement from ramming her down the Nazis' throats; she got satisfaction from it). Their excuse was that they were acting in accordance with their contention that art must be kept non-political—in disregard of the political use the Nazis made of Furtwängler's submission after his resignation, and of Beecham's visits. And actually Beecham yielded to the request that he omit a Mendelssohn symphony from the programs of the London Philharmonic on its German tour—as Furtwängler yielded to similar German pressure not to play a Mendelssohn symphony in Budapest.

Lacking moral awareness, Dr. Geissmar can describe incidents like the one of Beecham and the Mendelssohn symphony without any realization of how damaging they are. Thus she writes that when, in February, 1934, the Italian ambassador transmitted the request for a tour of Furtwängler and the Berlin Philharmonic in Italy in April, "I told him that his request came too late. But he was so insistent that I finally promised to do my best, provided . . . that after upsetting our plans he would at least arrange an audience for Furtwängler with Mussolini in Rome. I did my work, Cerruti did his. . . . The day after the first concert Furtwängler had an audience with Il Duce. . . . The second concert was sold out. Mussolini and his daughter Edda occupied a box. . . . Furtwängler was given an Italian decoration of the highest order the country could bestow on an artist." And while the German Nazis in Rome reported home only a complaint about the non-Aryan members of the orchestra, "the German Ambassador, von Hassell . . . reported to the German Foreign Office, emphasizing the great success of the tour, particularly in view of the obviously hostile feeling of the Italians towards the Nazis."

Yet, instead of being pleased the authorities in Berlin, including Goebbels, were furious—because the tour had been arranged by her. "That their ultimate end had been accomplished did not matter: they had not accomplished it themselves." And it is clear that she reports all this without any realization that she is claiming credit for success in, and complaining of Nazi ingratitude for, an involvement of art with politics, and describing actions by Furtwängler as damning as anything he did in Germany—as, for example, his first appearance after his submission, in April 1935, at a *Winterhilfe* benefit concert attended by Hitler and the entire government, and the famous cordial handshake with Hitler at that concert, which Dr. Geissmar rightly calls a "symbolic gesture."

The "Pavlova" edited by Paul Magriel (Holt, $3.50) is, like the "Nijinsky," one of the volumes in the series sponsored by Ballet Society, and made up largely of material previously published in *Dance Index*. Its most important contents are the photographs of Pavlova, which are lovely, and sometimes excitingly so, though not as vivid and exciting as the Nijinsky photographs (but I doubt that any ever were or will be). In addition there are Marianne Moore's poetic comment on the photographs, Carl Van Vechten's reviews of Pavlova's first performances at the Metropolitan, her own "Pages from My Life," a brief recollection by one of her pupils, Muriel Stuart, a chronology, and a bibliography.

The Museum of Modern Art's pamphlet "The Theater of Eugene Berman" offers some of Berman's stage designs, and an introduction by George Amberg on the subject of easel painters as stage designers, in which the writing and thought are extremely unprecise and unclear.

This is true also of Mr. Amberg's long introduction to "Art in Modern Ballet" (Pantheon, $7.50), a collection of drawings and paintings for the ballet by easel painters of Europe and the Americas. About a third of the book is devoted to an index of 833 ballets with full data concerning book, music, choreography, scenery, costumes, company, and first performance, and to further indices of the composers, choreographers, and designers.

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Letters to the Editors

The Ideal Candidate

Dear Sirs: The implications of the promotion of Lieutenant General J. Lawton Collins to Deputy Chief of Staff seem to have been generally unnoticed. Newspaper reports state that General Collins has been mentioned as a possible successor to General Eisenhower, though most army men believe the position will go to General Omar Bradley. Of course Bradley could be moved out after a sufficiently decent length of time to "honor" him had elapsed. Collins, a devout Roman Catholic, one of the leaders of the fight to merge the armed forces, equipped with a dogged determination to succeed, personal integrity, and ability as a soldier, is the ideal candidate in the eyes of certain forces in and outside government circles.

The accusation of religious bigotry will doubtless be raised should any protest against Collins's appointment be made. But there arises a most important consideration—that of loyalties. Regardless of his personal integrity and ability, a man in his high position, civil or military, who has been indoctrinated for years with the political philosophy of the Roman Catholic church must make a major decision each time loyalty to his church comes in conflict with loyalty to other policies of our non-Catholic country. Justification can usually be found for following the "directives" of the church. When the philosophies of the Catholic church and the military are combined in one person in a position of such importance as the Chief of Staff of the army, and when the Catholic church is openly engaged in a struggle against Russia, is there not danger that we might be rushed into war against Russia?

Another question arises. It is becoming increasingly apparent that the fate of capitalism will be determined within the United States. The forces of reaction have already started to use their wealth to freeze our economy along dangerous lines and eventually will try to use the military. The crisis which the economists predict is not far off will determine whether capitalism will be transformed into fascism or develop into some form of economic democracy. Since the army will play a dominant part in any ensuing disorders, and since the influence of the Catholic hierarchy may be expected to be thrown on the side of capitalist reaction, the selection of a Catholic Chief of Staff would have tremendous economic and political significance. The appointment of General Collins, therefore, would be unwise.

HELEN WALLACE KELLEY

Washington, August 20

Courtesy or Truth?

Dear Sirs: In an attempt to "answer" the charge made in the recent Hutchins report that American newspapers are not sufficiently critical of one another, one newspaper man, Walter Locke, a columnist on the Miami *Daily News*, has offered the insipid and unconvincing "explanation" that newspaper editors have grown too polite nowadays to call one another names. He is persuaded that such politeness enables rival newspapers to live together in peace. Perhaps it does, but peace at whose expense? At the expense of the American public, the answer must be, and at the expense of the truth.

"Competitors in business develop a 'courtesy' of their own," Mr. Locke goes on to say. "Is this 'courtesy' a combination in restraint of trade? Who knows?" he asks. Mr. Locke knows. Mr. Locke also knows that in the newspaper business the trade is in ideas and facts. Tiring of the critical spirit in which newspapers once were published, "the editors," he says, "settled down to their job as purveyors of news and ideas, leaving the public to judge their rivals for themselves." Well, the public will then judge Mr. Locke for itself. It will want to know why it is really impolite for co-workers in the vineyards of the truth to point out errors—and falsehoods, too—wherever they may be found, in the common endeavor of newspapers generally to provide the public with the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

Mr. Locke is talking through his hat. He is too good a columnist and too good a critic not to know that peace must be built on a much firmer foundation than mere politeness. The only worthy foundation and the only lasting one can of course be nothing less than the truth. And our age, far from having grown "polite," is characterized, more perhaps than any age before it, by criticism, watchdog of the truth. We test our products and ourselves relentlessly, searching for flaws. We employ the most powerful X-rays to ferret out flaws in steel beam and human bone. We probe, probe, probe—with microscope and telescope, with fluoroscope and stroboscope. We insist on the truth. We love the truth.

The ancient Greeks also loved the truth, more ardently perhaps than we Americans do today. Even then, however, a certain Diogenes felt it to be necessary to walk about in the market place in broad daylight with a lighted lantern in his hand, the better to search out the truth in men's countenances. But Mr. Locke, who also carries a lantern, would blow out the flame before peering into his rivals' faces.

EWING ANDERSON

Miami, Fla., August 26

An Undesirable Alien

Dear Sirs: In the year of grace (or of disgrace) 1917 the United States Congress approved the Jones law, by which the Puerto Ricans were granted American citizenship. Those who accepted American citizenship were granted the right to vote and the privilege to serve their country (Puerto Rico) as public officials, either by election or by appointment. But those who rejected it, preferring to remain citizens of Puerto Rico, were deprived of the right to vote and to hold public office—just as if they were convicted criminals.

I was one who rejected American citizenship in 1917. Now, after thirty years, I have made application to become a United States citizen in order to be in a position better to serve Puerto Rico, my party (the Independence Party), and my ideals of freedom.

My application was not accepted. The federal authorities here rejected it on the ground that I had failed to establish that I was not within the class of persons whose naturalization is prohibited by Section 30 of the Nationality Act of 1940 and that I had failed to establish that I was attached to the principles of the Constitution and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the United States. And besides, they considered me an *undesirable alien.*

Alien means the native of another

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country, and I am, according to the federal authorities, *an alien in my own country*. I, an alien in Puerto Rico, when I was born in Puerto Rico, of Puerto Rican parents, a grandson of Puerto Ricans on my father's side and a grandson of Spaniards on my mother's. And why am I undesirable? Because, when asked if I would be willing to take up arms against the Puerto Ricans in case of war between Puerto Rico and the United States, I said that I would not. Undesirable, because I believe that my country should be free and will struggle for its independence!

The gentlemen who deny me the right to be an American citizen should be ashamed to ask a decent man whether he would bear arms against his own brothers and countrymen. Only a degenerate would answer that question in the affirmative. Because I answered it in the negative I am considered an undesirable alien—in my own country of birth!

The undesirable aliens are they who have come to Puerto Rico to deprive us of our sovereignty and our personality as a nation; they who impose upon us arbitrary laws to the detriment of our commerce, our agriculture, and our industries; they who compel our children to study in a foreign language; they who deny us political and civil rights in our own country unless we are invested with their citizenship.

Perhaps they are even planning to deport me. But I am in the country where I was born and reared. Where, then, could they send me? Probably to the moon or to the planet Mars, aboard a jet-propelled rocket! In that case, you shall hear from me; I'll send my stratospheric impressions and my interplanetary adventures.

DR. EUGENIO VERA

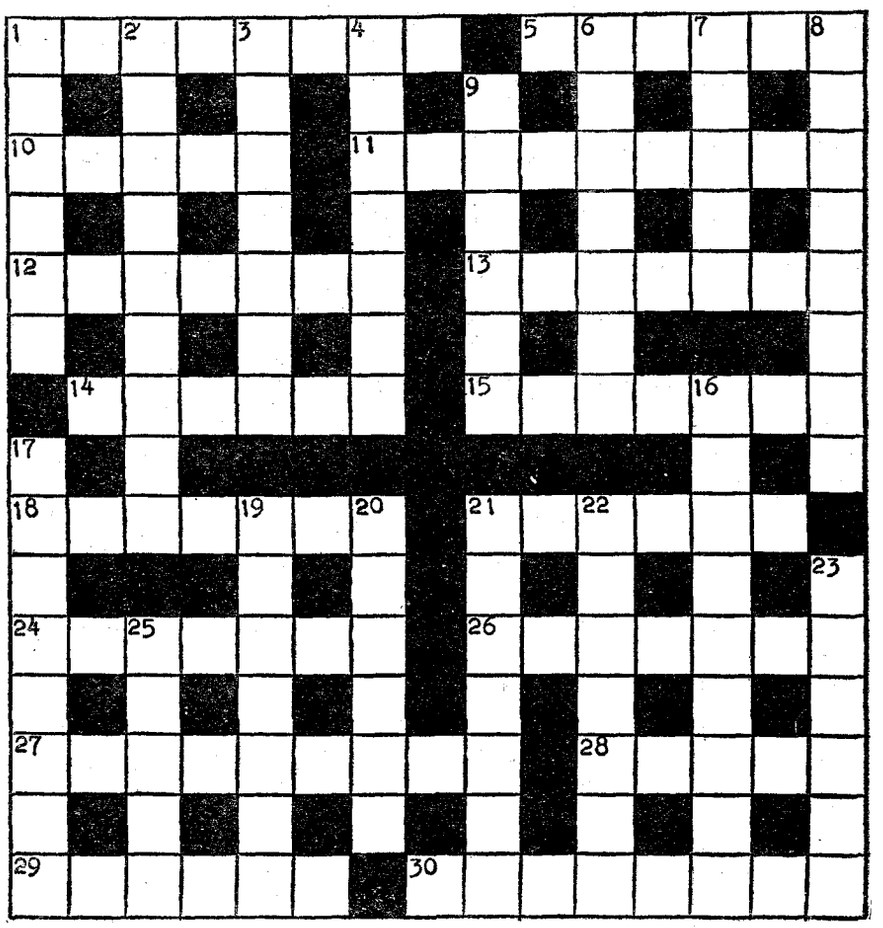
Río Pedras, Puerto Rico, August 10

The New Abolitionist

Dear Sirs: After 1,947 years of "Christianity" it is strange that the white man in America, and particularly in the South, has been unable to gain his freedom. The Negro's bondage was limited to the physical, environmental, and circumstantial, but the white man's extends to the mental, emotional, and spiritual. The slavery of the Negro was imposed from above; that of the white man is self-imposed. The Negro's master was a white man; the white man's master is fear. The white man's bondage is many times more costly to society than the Negro's ever was.

The expensive system of segregation

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 228 By MR. X.



[SPECIAL NOTICE! This is the sixth of six puzzles constructed by Mr. X in competition with Mr. Y. At the end of the competition, *The Nation's* regular crossword puzzle man will be selected on the basis of letters sent in by puzzle-solving readers.]

ACROSS

1 I'm Pancho—defender of the people
5 Cut capers
10 Engine for making tea in the back room
11 Visit to the rune seems like trespassing
12 Incline to cunning to scale the parapet
13 Total drop in ambulances restores composure
14 One gets the D. T.'s when fired upon
15 Eastern token
18 We still struggle: it's not end, see?
21 Statue conceals its crafty touch
24 Is ten enough for the model?
26 The trusting sometimes net a liar
27 I came in shapeless to emerge in a natty outfit
28 A thing that blots out the sun
29 Served on tray at every meal
30 This pest, sirs, is always with us

DOWN

1 A cream room
2 The zombie embraces a tomato
3 Does the painter have a reference?
4 Neglected to edit mot
6 Twist with the curl is berled in erl
7 There's an incongruous lie in the article
8 Fundamentals for steel men
9 Home for the horse race
16 Greatness alienates people and loses friends
17 Luce shed light on Time publication
19 The exploited blow up when they lose it
20 Movies in bed
21 I'd go in a barge to make a shortcut
22 Free gifts
23 Tastes vary in different countries
25 A trio running amuck

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 227

ACROSS:—1 SPONSOR; 5 ORLEANS; 9 PIERROT; 10 VIOLATE; 11 RADII; 12 AGREEMENT; 14 BESS; 15 EARLIER; 18 TOT; 20 COS; 21 AWAKENS; 23 CODE; 25 TITIVATES; 28 MATER; 29 ENLARGE; 30 IGNORES; 31 SISTERS; 32 ENSLAVE.

DOWN:—1 SUPERB; 2 OVERDO; 3 SORTILEGE; 4 RITUALS; 5 OBVERSE; 6 LOOSE; 7 ACADEMIC; 8 STENTORS; 13 BOW; 16 RUDIMENTS; 17 EON; 18 TACTLESS; 19 TANTALUS; 22 SETTERS; 23 CASTILE; 24 STERNA; 25 TRISTE; 27 VERGE.

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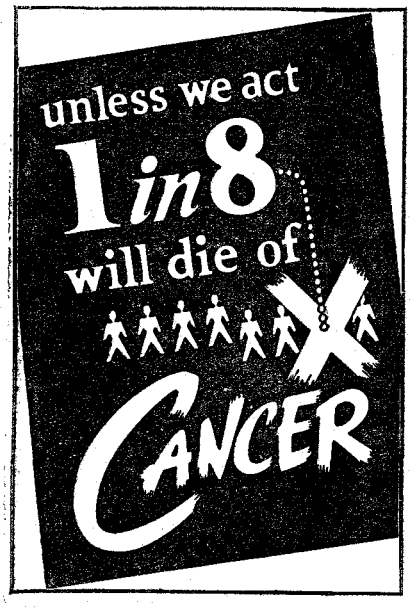

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1. Any sore that does not heal, particularly about the tongue, mouth or lips.
2. A painless lump or thickening, especially in the breast, lip or tongue.
3. Progressive change in the color or size of a wart or mole.
4. Persistent indigestion.
5. Persistent hoarseness, unexplained cough, or difficulty in swallowing.
6. Bloody discharge from the nipple or irregular bleeding from any of the natural body openings.
7. Any radical change in normal bowel habits.

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which the white man selfishly contrived is retarding the progress of the whites and advancing the cause of the Negroes. The white man is forced to pay the tremendous price of the dual social, economic, political, and religious systems he maintains. In the "Solid South" he has to pay for two of everything—two schools, two churches, two drinking fountains, two swimming pools, two bus and railroad ticket offices, and so on.

How can the white man be considered free in the South today when he is constantly told where he can and cannot sit on public carriers, where he can and cannot eat, where he can and cannot live, with whom he can and cannot associate? If this is the liberty and democracy which declares, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal," then give me no part of it.

Why do so many millions of our American citizens have to be subjected to such bitter prejudice and cruel discrimination? I think the white man suffers these hardships and indignities because he chooses to. He does not seem to realize that he is enslaved by the operation of an irrational system which was created by himself. Therefore, the Negro, who has been too busy with his religion and too fearful of his God to do anything about it, should struggle to see that our white brothers gain the freedom that the Constitution guarantees to all.

MORRIS H. TYNES

Greensboro, N. C., August 15

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